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The Speech of Thomas Marshall, in the House of Delegates of Virginia, on the Abolition of Slavery. Delivered, Friday, January 20, 1832. Richmond: pp. 12.

[It is well known that Professor Dew, of Williamsburg, Virginia, has recently published an elaborate article, entitled "A Review of the Debates on the Abolition of Slavery, in the Virginia Legislature, in the winter of 1831 and 1832," most of which first appeared in the American Quarterly Review, and was subsequently given to the public in an enlarged form. This Review abounds in sentiments which might have been tolerated a century ago, but which are at war with the humane and liberal spirit that now animates the Christian world. Against an insinuation that the Colony of Liberia may already be stained with the crime of engaging in the slave-trade, we here enter our protest, being prepared to show that there is no colour of reason for such an insinuation: nor do we believe that Sierra Leone "has frequently aided the slave-trade." We will not say that none of the "hostes humani generis" may not have crept into that Colony, and thus perpetrated, covertly, their dark and odious crimes against human liberty; but if so, it has been done without the knowledge, and in defiance of the authorities of the Colony. Of the general principles and main arguments of the Review, it is not our purpose to speak. The article which we now offer to public attention, from one of the ablest men, and best friends of the Society, shows conclusively, that Professor Dew is erroneous in his principles, and fallacious in his arguments. The moral sentiments which pervade this article, are worthy of this country and age, and will, at a time not remote, become the prevailing sentiments of all good men.]

THE debate in the Legislature of Virginia at its last session is, beyond all question, the event which most materially affects the prospects of negro slavery in the United States. Every thing tells of a spirit that is busy inspecting the very foundations of society in Virginia—a spirit new, suddenly created, and vaster in its grasp than any hitherto called forth in her history. There is a serious disposition to look the evil of slavery (nothing less!) in the face, and to cast about for some method of diminishing or extirpating it. Causes not now needful to be named, have given birth to this disposition, so little to have been anticipated two years ago. The possibility of ridding Virginia of the evil of slavery in our generation, in that of our children, or of our grand-children, is suddenly made the legitimate subject of temperate debate. We shall presume to speak of it therefore in a temper of becoming gravity, and we hope without danger of giving offence to any one.

It matters not though a majority of the people of Virginia be not, in the first moment, willing to adopt, or even to consider plans already prepared for diminishing the mischiefs of slavery. It matters not, though it were conceded, that all the plans suggested last winter in the House of Delegates, were marked with the crudeness of inexperience, and the inadvertence of haste, and would all require to be abandoned for others more mature. It matters not, though it were conceded, that a becoming regard for public decency forbade any final step on so perilous a subject in the very first year of its agitation. We fix our eyes on the single circumstance, that the public mind of Virginia permitted, nay encouraged, the open deliberations of the General Assembly, for weeks, on the momentous topic, never before thought fit to be mentioned but in a whisper. The first blow has been struck: the greatest achievement that the cause of emancipation admitted, was then effected. *Le grand mot est lache*—the great word is spoken out, and can never be recalled. Debate and speculation are on the instant made legitimate. The secret pulsation of so many hearts, sick with the despair of an evil they dared not propose to remedy, has now found a voice, and the wide air has rung with it.

We rejoice that we live to see this subject thrown into the vast field, in which are to be found so many of the prime interests of the human race—the same from which the ancient tragic poets derived their groundwork: the warfare between liberty and necessity; or more accurately, the sublime strife between the desirable and the actual. We rejoice, that full of doubts, embarrassments, and dangers, as is the thought of attacking the evil, as near alike to the attributes of Fate as seems its defiance of opposition, the obdurate unchangeableness of it even in degree, yet it is thrown open to speculation and experiment, and now stands fairly exposed to assault from the great Crusaders which have thus far redeemed our mortal condition from barbarism and misery—the unconquerable free will and undying hope. No mortal evil can forever withstand this open war; these its antagonist principles will be like the undercurrent at sea, “that draws a thousand waves unto itself,” will strive against obstacle, repair disaster, and convert all the contemporary events into good for their cause. Recent occurrences in the political history of foreign countries abundantly exemplify this fact.

The seal is now broken. We exhort the sons of Virginia to toil for the diminution of this evil, with all the prudence, the delicacy, and gravity requisite in the application of a great public remedy to a wide-spread disease. And in the worst event, let them rest assured that history has few places more enviable than would be the lot of the last advocate, who, left without allies, should come, in the grand language of Milton’s prose, “through the chance of good or of evil report, to be the SOLE ADVOCATE OF A DISCOUNTENANCED TRUTH.”*

We fix not our expectations so much on legislative enactments: as far as these are compulsory, and proceed only from a division in the minds of men, we deprecate them. But we direct our anticipations to the general will of the people of the state. Let reason and persuasion be the instruments of promoting a voluntary action. Until not merely a majority, but a great majority of the freemen of Virginia be convinced, persuaded, moved to demand liberation from the ruin that is consuming the land, there will be unworthy rudeness and indecorum in bringing in the violence of a new statute to begin the work of purification. She is now in the breathing space after the first mention of it; the spontaneous burst of agitated feeling of last winter shall either perish, or resolve itself into a wise, patient, judicious movement. The summer will have witnessed, by the temper it has matured in her, whether Virginia is capable—not of deep sensibility to supposed claims of patriotism; that the world knows her to possess—not of gusts of enthusiasm for purposes that are lifted above selfish cupidity; all, who know her, have witnessed her

* Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.

passionate attachment to abstract truth, her susceptibility of lasting emotions in its behalf, and her readiness for every mode of self-denial, of privation and self-sacrifice.—But we are to witness whether, recalling her affections from the distant objects to which they have certainly been too exclusively devoted, she is adequate to manage her own possible destiny for good; whether she is framed for that high sort of civil prudence which knows how to project a vast plan of heroic justice, that it will require generations of men of the same temper to execute. We do not hesitate to believe that the ultimate result is not dubious: we repose the fullest confidence in Virginia, the mother of so many colonized commonwealths.

Unhappy America! how portentous a fate has proved hers! It was not enough that the dowry which she brought to Europe when first discovered, the bountiful millions which her mines of gold and silver yielded in the first hundred years, served only to enable Ferdinand, Charles V., and Philip II., to establish the Inquisition, and to crush the freedom of conscience by long and bloody wars, which nothing but American gold could have supported!—It was not enough that her fine race of generous barbarians (the finest the world ever saw) were to perish before the face of civilizing man! But she must suffer too, the pollution of being used as if discovered solely for the wo of Africa!—To the discovery of this continent, is due the existence in the world, to-day, of a single slave with a Christian master.

It was in 1620, thirteen years after the settlement of Jamestown, that a Dutch vessel from the Coast of Guinea sailed up James River, and brought the first slave into British America. We can almost see the hateful form of the slaver, as with her cargo of crime and misery, "rigged with curses," she bursts into the silent Chesapeake. We see her keel ploughing the pure, because yet free, waters, and now nearing the English plantations. Fatal, fatal ship!—What does she there? Can it indeed be that she comes (and so soon!) to pour the deadliest of hereditary woes into our cradle? How durst the loathsome freight she bears, the accursed shape of slavery intrude itself, of all lands on the earth, upon this vestal soil? How thrust itself among a race of Anglo-Saxon men in the seventeenth century? how bring its deformity athwart the bold and noble sweep of the common law, to mar it all? how mix its curses up (to a greater or less degree in all the British Colonies) with the mass of all our acts, at our hearths, our public councils, and our altars, and bring pollution to our childhood and decrepitude to our youth? On a land set apart by Providence for the best growth of manhood—where Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, the Bill of Rights, and last, but greatest, the profession in their fulness and sincerity of the grand, transcendent rights of reason and nature, of liberty and equality, were to have their deepest roots;—a land the world's refuge and the world's hope;—how shall we not weep, when the ineradicable seeds are here planted, that shall curse with contradiction and inconsistency all the height of its pride, and make the manly and dilated heart, in the midst of its triumph at one side of its condition, faint and sick, sick to the core, with the dust and ashes of the other side!

We have put the truly statesmanlike speech of the son of the Chief Justice of the United States at the head of this article, because we believe it expresses the opinions of a majority of reflecting men in Virginia, and because it coincides more nearly with our own views than any of the other speeches in that debate. If it be inferior in fervid eloquence to some of the others, it possesses the rarer merit of coolness, impartiality, decision, and uncommon political sagacity. We cannot adequately express the satisfaction its perusal gave us, without running into panegyric, which we are sure would be little acceptable to him. Mr. Marshall voted as well against Mr. T. J. Randolph's motion for submitting the question of abolition at once to the people, and Mr. Preston's, declaring immediate action by the legislature then sitting, to be expedient, as against Mr. Goode's motion to discharge the select committee from

the consideration of all petitions, memorials, and resolutions, which had for their object the manumission of persons held in servitude under the laws of Virginia, and thus declare it not expedient to legislate at all on the subject.—As regards the first two motions, Mr. Marshall believed that the public mind was not yet prepared for the question of abolition; that the members of that session were not elected in reference to it; and that there were other modes of ascertaining public sentiment on that great question, less agitating than would be the forcing it upon the people for promiscuous discussion. He objected further to Mr. Randolph's proposition (which embraced only one plan of abolition—that fixing the year 1840 as the time after which all slaves born should be declared public property,) because it was too specific, and instead of merely asserting a principle, offered a peculiar plan obnoxious to many objections. But he had still greater objections to Mr. Goode's motion to dismiss the subject wholly from the consideration of the house, with the implied understanding that the legislature decidedly repelled all invitations to deliberate on the possibility of diminishing the evils of slavery. He declared himself entirely convinced that slavery was fruitful of many woes to Virginia, that a general sense of *insecurity* pervaded the state, and that the citizens were deeply impressed with the conviction that something must be done. He said that there were sure indications that some action is imperatively required of the legislature by the people—that the evil has attained a magnitude, which demands all the skill and energy of prompt and able legislation. He follows up this opinion with much valuable illustration and a number of useful practical suggestions. Without entirely assenting to the objections of Mr. Marshall to the first two motions above named, we are delighted with the general tone of his remarks.

Before beginning to unfold more fully our own views of the present exigency in Virginia, we take occasion to declare distinctly that our purpose is not by overcharged pictures of the iniquity of slavery, or the cruel lot of the slaves, to raise a storm of gratuitous indignation in the minds of the people of the United States against Virginia. We believe that there is not the slightest moral turpitude in holding slaves under existing circumstances in the south. We *know* too that the ordinary condition of slaves in Virginia is *not* such as to make humanity weep for his lot. Our solicitations to the slaveholders, it will be perceived, are founded but little on *the miseries of the blacks*. We direct ourselves almost exclusively to the injuries slavery inflicts on the whites. And of these evils suffered by the whites, the evil consequences of practising the immorality of slaveholding will not be our mark.—Reproach and recrimination on such a subject would answer no good purpose; it would naturally provoke defiance from the slaveholders. All the eloquent invectives of the British abolitionists have not made one convert in the West Indies. This is no part of our humour. It is *our* object to lure Virginia onward in her present hopeful state of mind. We mean to confine every word we write to Virginia. The whole scope of this article will be *to show the necessity of her promptly doing something to check the palpable mischiefs her prosperity is suffering from slavery*. We design to show that all her sources of *economical* prosperity are poisoned by slavery, and we shall hint at its moral evils only as they occasion or imply destruction to the real prosperity of a nation. Unless we first make this position impregnable, we shall ask no one to sacrifice merely to abstract humanity and justice. Nor shall we insist on Virginia's beginning action on this momentous subject, until we have shown that her genuine ultimate interests will be promoted by it. The best way of persuading men of this world to deeds which involve the sacrifice of present interests, is to convince them that a greater prospective interest may be thereby secured. We shall strive then to procure the concurrence of self-interest as well as the approbation of humanity. Hence, even should we succeed in making out our case as to Virginia, it will be instantly remarked that we have said very little that will touch South Carolina and Georgia, and

scarcely any thing applicable to Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. If the prosperity of any of these is founded in circumstances of soil, climate, products, &c. of such nature and degree, as that it will not sink under the precarious specific (neck or nothing) of slave labour, *a la bonne heure*—let them go on. This is undoubtedly the case more or less, of the sugar, cotton, and rice plantation states. But it is not the case of Virginia. We propose to treat

I. Of the injury slavery does to the prosperity of Virginia. Let us cursorily indicate some of the evils which the experience of the United States shows to be consequent on slavery under ordinary circumstances, some of which Virginia has suffered in common with other states, and of some of which she has been peculiarly the victim. 1. An inertness of most of the springs of prosperity—a want of what is commonly called public spirit. 2. Where slave labour prevails, it is scarcely practicable for free labour to co-exist with it to any great extent. Not that the latter would not deserve the preference, both for cheapness and efficiency, but that many obvious causes conspire to prevent the rivalry being perseveringly sustained. Freedom being itself regarded as a privilege in a nation that has slaves, there is a natural tendency to consider exemption from manual labour as the chief mark of elevation above the class of slaves. In a republic this tendency is vastly increased. A disposition to look on all manual labour as menial and degrading, may safely be set down as a distemper of the most disastrous kind. We shall not dilate on this. It must instantly be admitted that nothing can compensate a nation for the destruction of all the virtues which flow from mere industry. Virginia has experienced this most signally: had her slave labour been ten times as productive as it has been, and grant that she possesses all the lofty qualities ever claimed for her, in their highest degree, she would still have been the loser by contracting this ruinous disposition. Nothing but the most abject necessity would lead a white man to hire himself to work in the fields under the overseer, and we must say that we cannot refuse to sympathize with the free labourer who finds it irksome to perform hard work by the side of a slave.—3. Agriculture is the best basis of national wealth.—“Arts,” says that eminent farmer Mr. John Taylor of Caroline, “improve the works of nature; when they injure it they are not arts but barbarous customs. It is the office of agriculture as an art, not to impoverish, but to fertilize the soil and make it more useful than in its natural state. Such is the effect of every species of agriculture which can aspire to the name of an art.” Now it is a truth, that an *improving* system of agriculture cannot be carried on by slaves. The negligent, wasteful habits of slaves who are not interested in the estate, and the exacting cupidity of transient overseers who are interested in extorting from the earth the greatest amount of production, render all slave agriculture invariably exhausting. How many plantations worked by slaves are there in Virginia which are not perceptibly suffering the sure process of exhaustion? Perhaps not one, except a few on the water courses, composed of the alluvial soils which are virtually inexhaustible. The uncertainty of the profits of a crop generally deters the planters in Virginia from giving standing wages to their overseers—indeed, it has too often happened that the salary of the overseer has absorbed all the proceeds. Hence it is usual to give him, instead of salary, a share of the crop. The murderous effects of this on the fertility of the soil may well be conceived. An estate submitted to overseers entitled to a share of the crop, (who are changed of course, almost yearly) suffers a thousandfold more than would English farms put out on leases of one or two years to fresh lessees. Twenty-one years is thought too short a term there.—4. It is a fact that no soil but the richest, and that in effect inexhaustible, can be profitably cultivated by slaves. In the Legislature of Virginia, it was repeatedly said that her lands were poor, and for that reason none but slaves could be brought to work them well. On the contrary, poor lands and those of moderate fertility can never repay the expense of slave labour, or bear up under the vices of that slovenly

system.—5. In modern times, in most cases where slave labour prevails, it has been found in plantation states and colonies. There are many obvious reasons why, if profitable any where, it must be only there. Now, if this be the case, it would appear that slavery, to be profitable, is essentially incompatible with a dense population—at all events, with a relatively dense population of freemen. No country can afford to be given up exclusively to agriculture in the shape of plantation tillage, or to devote the entire attention of all the men it rears to that occupation, except its soil be extremely fertile, and its products of the richest nature. Under other circumstances, the soil and products not making adequate returns, there is a vast waste of capabilities for other purposes, which the surface of many countries might well answer.—6. It seems agreed among the economists of the south that slaves are unfit for the business of manufactures. A most sensible essay was published in Philadelphia in 1827 by Dr. Jones, afterwards superintendent of the Patent Office at Washington, to show that slaves are not necessarily unfit for this employment. We were persuaded at the time, that, if his position were true, it would prove the most important of all suggestions in an economical view, to Virginia. It has surprised us, indeed, that the advocates of the perpetuity of slavery in Virginia have not seen the immense advantage of such an argument to their side of the question. But the entire current of opinion in the south (led by an invincible sentiment of hostility to the protective system) is that states where slave labour prevails, and where the whole capital for labour is vested in slaves, cannot manufacture. It will need no words to show what an injury this voluntary disability inflicts on a country which may happen to have the most felicitous capacities for manufactures.—7. Where slave labour prevails, it would appear that the rearing a large class of skilful mechanics is greatly discouraged. The slaves themselves, of course, never make mechanics except of the coarsest description. Although the whites in the cities are not entirely averse to becoming artisans, yet, in the country, the natural policy of the rich planters to have mechanics among their slaves to do all the needful business on their estates, deprives the white mechanics of their chief encouragement to perfect themselves in their trades, diminishes the demand for their services, and generally has the effect of expelling them from one neighbourhood to another until they finally expatriate themselves.—8. Slave labour is, without controversy, dearer than free. It suffices to state, that in the one case you have a class of labourers that have a direct interest in doing and saving as little as possible, so that they barely escape punishment; in the other, a class, every member of which has a direct interest in producing and saving as much as possible. But this position is too well established to justify any one in an argument to prove it.—The categories wherein the contrary holds true are cumulatively: *a.* it must be in a plantation country; *b.* it must be in a soil extremely and inexhaustibly fertile; *c.* where the products are of the greatest value; *d.* and after all, it must be where white men cannot endure the climate and the nature of the cultivation.—9. The experience of the United States has shown that slavery decidedly discourages immigration (to use Dr. Southey's word) from foreign countries into the sections of country where it is prevalent. It is not a sufficient answer to this to say that the emigrants are in general allured to the United States by the temptation of the rich country in the west, so that slavery cannot be said to repel them from the southern states. It is not true of the best emigrants that come to our shores, that they are intent on pushing into the pathless forest, to be there banished from all the blessings of a settled country. This is in fact the positive passion of none but the hardy native pioneers, the Boones of Vermont, of New York, and Virginia. The Germans, for example, who are perhaps the most valuable of the emigrants to America, are not people who would prefer to make their home in the midst of the extreme discomforts and often cruel privations which the pioneers undergo. Besides, what repels all those emigrants who are not agriculturists,

and whose occupations lead them among crowds of men? Of immigration into the slave-holding States, except in some of the western States, where the principle of slavery is not yet predominant, it may be said there is none. The emigrants understand that their hope of employment there is forestalled, that the only labour wanted is indigenous to the soil; they feel that that labour is incompatible with their own, and they shrink from the idea of giving their children, who are to live by manual labour, a home in a slave-labour land, while fair regions, dedicated as well to domestic as to civil freedom, tempt their adventurous footsteps. With this evil may be classed the tendency of the whites of these States to emigrate from the soil of their birth.—10. Slavery begets inevitably a train of habits and opinions, which, to say the least, are destructive of all those springs of prosperity which depend on economy, frugality, enterprise. Young people bred up to be maintained by slaves are apt to imbibe improvident habits. Of its favourable operation on the spirit of liberty in the whites, we are not disposed to question the well-known opinion of Mr. Burke: the passage we refer to, is itself an evidence of the profound knowledge he possessed of the human heart. We consider it truer, however, of the spirit of liberty in its aspect of resistance to foreign oppression: in its home aspect it is, we think, comparatively just.—But as relates to its operation in equalizing the whites with each other, we throw out the suggestion without note or comment, that *no property gives rise to greater inequalities than slavery property*. We question, too, whether it could well be maintained that the *beau ideal* of a nabob—(we use the word in its fair, not invidious sense),—endow him with nobleness of soul, sensibility, the utmost delicacy of honour, generosity, and hospitality—is the finest specimen of our species. There are many solid and essential virtues (wholly disconnected with those named) which could not so well be dispensed with as some of those, in going to make up the being of whom *par excellence* nature might stand up and say “this is a man.”

We can now venture to define pretty accurately what sort of a country that must be, which having regard solely to the economical principles, is adapted to be for a long term of years a prosperous slave-labour State. It must possess an extremely rich soil, hence under most circumstances be a comparatively small country, (otherwise the greater the difficulty of finding a uniformly fine soil, and consequently the impossibility of making the *whole* State flourish), in a latitude the products of which, from their scarcity in the world, the permanent demand for them, and the possibility of rearing them in but few spots on the globe, are sure of a market at high prices, where the culture of such crops requires that the slaves be worked together in bodies, so that the constant supervision necessary over them may be performed by a few whites, and finally in a climate so nearly tropical, or otherwise precarious, as to make the exposure and toil insupportable to free (*say white*) labourers. A country uniting all these requisites, may be prosperous with slave labour. It possesses certain sources of wealth, by the help of which it may dispense with many others, that are the necessary resource of countries of moderate fertility, and which are under different general circumstances. Such a country seems to need the moral-economical springs less. It will, of necessity, contain a sparse white population, but it may be formidable in war from its superior relative wealth. The countries growing cotton, rice, and the sugarcane, bountifully, are of this description. For aught we know, Brazil may fall under the definition. The principal West India islands appear to be entitled to expect prosperity, (supposing no adverse adventitious circumstances) but Louisiana unites all the requisites more perfectly perhaps than any other country. South Carolina and Georgia do it but imperfectly, on account of there being so large a portion of both of them to which such description would not at all apply; Alabama and Mississippi do more perfectly than they. But it may boldly be said that *Virginia possesses scarcely a single requisite to make a prosperous slave-labour State*.

She has not the inexhaustible rich soils: her earth originally yielded fair returns to hard labour judiciously directed, but all such soils, as she has learned by bitter experience, are fated, under the hands of slaves, to deterioration down to utter barrenness. *She has too large a territory:* the curse of the presence of slaves and the monopoly of labour in their hands, is all over the State; the spots really adapted for profitable slave labour are few and scattered. *She has not the sort of products:* only a small part of the State produces cotton; the culture of tobacco, which was originally the general staple of Old Virginia Proper, after destroying immense tracts of good lands, is shrinking into a very diminished compass, and scarcely repays the cost of production under the average prices of the last fifteen years. If any one would cast his eye over the list of the Tobacco Inspections established by law, in the revised code of Virginia, he would smile to see places mentioned for inspection warehouses, in quarters of Virginia where no man has ever seen a hundred weight of tobacco. Besides this, there is an unlimited competition springing up around her, to reduce prices to nothing. With regard to the crops of tobacco of the western states, we can say with confidence, that there is a regular annual increase in quantity, with great improvement in its curing and management; so that it is fast taking the place of Virginia tobacco for consumption in the leaf in the north of Europe, and as strips in Great Britain. The article of tobacco is now cultivated in Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Tennessee, and in Canada, as well as Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. The quantity raised is altogether too great for consumption. The other products of Virginia are the ordinary growth of all temperate, and most northern regions. *She has not the climate which would put slaves on the vantage ground above whites:* every part of her territory is adapted to the men of all climates, and she has not a foot of soil which nature declares that none but blacks shall cultivate, nor a product the cultivation of which demands lives and labours baser than those of white men. Tobacco is notoriously cultivated with success by whites in any part of the world, which is temperate enough to grow it. It is then a total miscalculation in every point of view—a false position for Virginia to have allotted to herself the exclusive labour of slaves.

But appeal is made to the history of the economy of Virginia to contradict this assertion. Is it demanded for instance, why Virginia should prosper before the Revolution as she did, with her slave labour, if there be a fatal error in her adoption of slavery? We may answer, that there is no great mystery in that. Virginia while a colony never did furnish the miracles of great and sudden fortunes which the West India and South Carolina nabobs used to exhibit in England. Adam Smith, in his day, made this remark:—At that time fine tobacco was an article only grown in Virginia and Maryland, and the prices were relatively to the times very high; whereas now, and for all future time, a competition wholly beyond the conception of that day, has completely revolutionized the market. But admit that the colony was very prosperous: if from this it is meant to argue that Virginia may again be so under the same system, we hope it will not at least be denied that the Revolution found almost all the lands which had been opened nearly or quite exhausted, showing plainly that the preceding hundred years had been passed in fits of profitable planting from the frequent resort to successive new lands. Mr. Taylor of Caroline had understood that 60,000 hogsheads of tobacco were exported from Virginia, when the whole population did not exceed 150,000. Had the fertility of the country by possibility remained undiminished, (as he says it would, if her slave agriculture had been any thing else than “a barbarous custom,” not an art), Virginia ought in 1810 to have exported 240,000 hogsheads, or their equivalent in other produce, and at present nearly the double of that. Thus the agricultural exports of Virginia in 1810 would, at the estimated prices of the Custom House at that time, have been seventeen millions of dollars, and now at least thirty-four, while it is

known that they are not of late years greater than from three to five millions! This will at once show that the great crops of the colonial times were forced, or we may say *exaggerated* by the possession of means, which will never again be in her hands.

The fact that the whole agricultural products of the State at present, do not exceed in value the exports eighty or ninety years ago, when it contained not a sixth of the population, and when not a third of the surface of that State (at present Virginia) was at all occupied, is however a very striking proof of the decline of its agriculture. What is now the productive value of an estate of land and negroes in Virginia? We state as the result of extensive inquiry, embracing the last fifteen years, that a very great proportion of the larger plantations, with from fifty to one hundred slaves, actually bring their proprietors in debt at the end of a short term of years, notwithstanding what would once in Virginia have been deemed very sheer economy; that much the larger part of the considerable landholders are content, if they barely meet their plantation expenses without a loss of capital; and that, of those who make any profit, it will in none but rare instances, average more than one to one and a half per cent. on the capital invested. The case is not materially varied with the smaller proprietors. Mr. Randolph of Roanoke, whose sayings have so generally the raciness and the truth of proverbs, has repeatedly said in Congress, that the time was coming when the masters would run away from the slaves and be advertised by them in the public papers. A decided improvement in the Virginia system is taking place in some parts of the State, which consists in the abandonment of the culture of tobacco for that of wheat, indian corn, &c., which can be produced on soil too poor for tobacco, requires fewer labourers, and will not be so apt to reduce the fertility of the soil still lower. This is a judicious thing in itself, but here again recurs the truth we have already set forth: plantations with such products as these never can be profitably managed with slave labour. Wheat and corn will not do for this; let the planter turn his sons in to work his lands, and then these products will suffice. Tobacco was the only article which ever could by possibility justify the expense of slave labour in Virginia; and now we see that the wiser planters are to a great degree withdrawing their lands from it.

There is, however, one way in which capital invested in slaves may be said to be productive. We will now let the reader into a secret of slaveholding economy. The only form in which it can safely be said that slaves on a plantation are profitable in Virginia, is in the multiplication of their number by births. If the proprietor, beginning with a certain number of negroes, can but keep them for a few years from the hands of the sheriff or the slave trader, though their labour may have yielded him not a farthing of nett revenue, he finds that gradually but surely, his capital stock of negroes multiplies itself, and yields, if nothing else, a palpable interest of young negroes. While very young, they occasion small expense, but they render none or small service; when grown up, their labour, as we have already seen, hardly does more than balance the expense they occasion. The process of multiplication will not in this way advance the master towards the point of a nett revenue; he is not the richer in income with the fifty slaves than with twenty. Yet these young negroes have their value: and what value? The value of the slaves so added to his number is the certain price for which they will at any time sell to the southern trader. Should the humanity of the proprietor, however, and his rare fortune in keeping out of debt, prevail on him never to treat his slaves as live stock for traffic, he finds himself incumbered with the same unproductive burden as before. That master alone finds productive value in his increase of slaves, who chooses to turn the increase of his capital, at regular intervals, into money at the highest market price!—There are, we make haste to say, very many masters with whom it is a fixed rule never to sell a slave, except for incorrigibly bad character, so long as the pressure of necessity does not compel it. There are some who would

feel it to be the wanton breach of a tie next in sanctity to the most sacred of the domestic relations. But such sensibility cannot be supposed to be universal. Accordingly, the State does derive a tangible profit from its slaves; this is true to the heart's content of the adversaries of abolition, and that by means of yearly sales to the negro traders. An account, on which we may rely, sets down the annual number of slaves sold to go out of the State at six thousand, or more than half the number of births! The population returns show only a yearly addition of four thousand eight hundred to the slaves remaining in the State. If all these sales were the result of the necessities of the masters, while it must forever be lamented, it would at the same time be the most portentous proof of the financial ruin of the planters of the State.— But if otherwise, if but a common course of business regularly gone into for profit, what volumes does it speak of the degradation to which slavery may reduce its supporters! And will “the aspiring blood of Lancaster” endure it to be said that a Guinea is still to be found in America, and that Guinea is Virginia? That children are reared with the express object of sale into distant regions, and that in numbers but little less than the whole number of annual births? It may be that there is a small section of Virginia (perhaps we could indicate it) where the theory of population is studied with reference to the yearly income from the sale of slaves. Shall the profits to Virginia, from this contaminated source, be alleged as an economical argument to magnify the sacrifice involved in the abolition of slavery, and this too by statesmen who profess to execrate the African slave trade? For ourselves, we can see but little difference between this form of the internal slave trade and the African trade itself. But we have too deep a stake ourselves in the good name of the land of Washington and Jefferson, to be willing to admit that this form of profit from slaves is cherished by any but a very few persons.— This is not then an income which Virginia loves to reap: She scorns those who resort to it, and will count lightly of the sacrifice which the extinction of this fountain of impure wealth would involve.

Banishing this then out of view, there is no productive value of slaves in Virginia. Shut up all outlet into the southern and south-western States, and the price of slaves in Virginia would sink down to a cypher. Without the possibility of deriving from slave labour any of the benefits, by which in some countries it seems to compensate (whether adequately or not) for its pernicious moral effects, Virginia is cursed with an institution unproductive of good to her, and potent in mischiefs beyond all her fears. If ever there was a specific, which failing of its possible good effects, would induce irremediable pains, it is slavery. We check the struggling inclination to paint the woes Virginia has suffered from its miscarriage, in their true colours, but the truth would seem exaggeration. Take then the following temperate detail from the speech of Mr. Marshall, every word of which is true by the experience of Virginia.

“Wherefore, then, object to slavery? Because it is ruinous to the whites—retards improvement—roots out an industrious population—banishes the yeomanry of the country—deprives the spinner, the weaver, the smith, the shoemaker, the carpenter, of employment and support. This evil admits of no remedy; it is increasing and will continue to increase, until the whole country will be inundated with one black wave, covering its whole extent, with a few white faces here and there floating on the surface. The master has no capital but what is vested in [slaves;] the father, instead of being richer for his sons, is at a loss to provide for them—there is no diversity of occupations, no incentive to enterprise. Labour of every species is disreputable because performed mostly by slaves. Our towns are stationary, our villages almost every where declining, and the general aspect of the country marks the curse of a wasteful, idle, reckless population, who have no interest in the soil, and care not how much it is impoverished. Public improvements are neglected, and the entire continent does not present a region for which nature has done so much, and art so little. If cultivated by free labour, the soil of Virginia is capable of sustaining a dense population, among whom labour would be honourable, and where ‘the busy hum of men’ would tell that all were happy, and that all were free.”

Virginia has suffered, and is now suffering under all the ten specifications just given, and in a greater degree than any other of the slave-holding States

could. Her statesmen and engineers mourn over her inertness of spirit for public improvements; her economists mourn over the little inclination of her citizens to labour of any kind; her agriculturists upbraid her for letting the soil sink into irrecoverable exhaustion, that she is burdened with the dearest sort of labour, and persists in applying to a country of originally moderate fertility, a system absolutely ruinous to any but the richest alluvial soils; that industry and frugality are banished; that she renders it virtually impossible to open a new source of wealth in manufactures, and that while the principle of population is almost stagnant among her whites, and her own sons are departing from her, she repulses by her domestic relations all the emigrants to America from the old world, who might else come in to repair her ruin. It is ridiculous to talk of the prosperity of a country wholly agricultural, with slave labour and exhausted lands. The proud homes of Virginia, from the Revolution down to this day, have been passing from the hands of their high-minded proprietors, to the humble overseers that used to *sit below the salt* at their board, and from them in their turn to some other newer *parvenus*: agriculture has failed to enrich. Of the white emigrants from Virginia, at least half are hard working men, who carry away with them little besides their tools and a stout heart of hope: the mechanic trades have failed to give them bread. Commerce she has little, shipping none; and it is a fact that the very staple of the state, tobacco, is not exported by her own capital—the state does virtually a commission business in it. All the sources of prosperity, moral and economical, are deadened; there is a general discontent with one's lot; in some of the first settled and choicest parts of her territory, symptoms are not wanting of desolate antiquity. And all this in youthful America, and in Virginia too, the fairest region of America, and with a race of people inferior to none in the world in its capacity to constitute a prosperous nation.

There are some facts disclosed by the population returns for 1830, which we are not aware have been fully brought to the public notice. Every one is now acquainted with the uncomfortable truth, that the whites east of the Blue Ridge had in 1790 a majority of 25,000, and that in the course of forty years they have not only lost it, but suffered the blacks to get an ascendancy in number to the extent of 81,000: thus the advance of the blacks is 106,000 in that half of the State in that period. But we may see by the subjoined table that there are not a few counties of middle as well as lower Virginia, (component parts of eastern Virginia) which have actually diminished in white population in the last ten years! The first five are counties between the Blue Ridge and the head of tide-water; the others below the head of tide-water.

Whites in 1820.		1830.	Whites in 1820.		1830.
Brunswick	5889	5397	King & Queen	5460	4714
Amelia	3409	3293	King William	3449	3155
Goochland	3976	3857	Lancaster	2388	1876
Loudon	16144	15516	Northumberland	4134	4029
Mecklenburg	7710	7543	Sussex	4155	4118
Fairfax	6224	4892	Stafford	4788	4713
James City	1556	1284	Warwick	620	619

These counties at an average annual increase of three per cent. (which is sufficiently moderate) would have added more than 20,000 to their aggregate numbers; they have sustained a loss of near 5000 in ten years, which is fully one twelfth of their capital in 1820. Conjecturally the people in these counties are as prolific as elsewhere; emigration, the result of the characteristic ills of Virginia, has done most to occasion this loss. All of these are fine counties.

We freely grant that a slow increase of population is possible in a country where the utmost is made of all its resources, and that in certain cases it implies a higher degree of civilization, for prudence in such matters denotes

civilization it seems. But unless the employment of prudential checks be suggested by danger of an overcrowded population, certainly they are little to be desired by statesmen. The unnecessary introduction of prudential checks leads to the application of means destined by Providence for the subsistence of men, to a thousand less worthy purposes; as, when that food, which would support the same number or double of human beings, is bestowed on pleasure, horses and dogs. Where population has not yet approximated the capacity of the country to furnish subsistence, it is premature and unhappy to begin the employment of too much prudence, to discourage marriages. In fact, this never will occur, unless some powerful agents have been at work to benumb, not merely the spring of population, but all the springs of prosperity. A very slow increase, or a diminution, would be an indication of want of prosperity not to be mistaken in most parts of the United States; for example, where subsistence is easy to obtain, and population can scarcely any where be said to have pressed on subsistence. It is said by some persons that the preventive checks (prudential) are in fuller operation in Virginia than in the north. We confess we had entertained an opposite idea. What is the usual age of marriages in Virginia, and what in New England? Is forecast indeed more prevalent in Virginia than in New England? If this be indeed so, then unhappy causes must have been at work to produce it.

But it has been further said that the *standard of comfort* is higher in Virginia than in the northern States, that this denotes higher civilization, and thus the inertness of the principle of population is her highest eulogy. If this be her reliance for a high eulogium, we are sorry to say that the ground is rapidly slipping from under her feet, for the standard of comfort in Virginia has greatly lowered and is daily lowering. All the chief glories of Virginia style are faded: gone is the massy coach with its stately *attelage* of four and six horses, shut is the beneficent hall-door, which, as if nailed wide open, once welcomed all comers to its princely hospitality! The watering places no longer blaze with the rich but decent pomp of the Virginian, the cities but rarely bear witness to his generous expense. Every thing indicates that he has reduced his idea of a becoming style of living to a very moderate scale.— This ingenious supposition, therefore, will not account for the stagnation of population. The actual state of the standard of comfort, in effect, is itself a part of the universal evidence of her decline. If you would assert of any part of the United States, where the population was very slowly increasing, stationary, or retrograde, that it is not the worse off for that, you must at least exhibit proof that the positive amount of wealth of that part has been augmenting; and we may add, that, to be conclusive, the augmentation must be in the inverse ratio of the difference between the average activity of the principle of population in the United States, and its very reduced activity in that particular part of the country. If Massachusetts or Rhode Island could be said to be stationary in population, it might unquestionably be said of them too, that their augmentation of wealth and general prosperity was in this or a greater ratio.

But we look on this whole subject of the increase of national wealth, population, &c., in the case of Virginia, from a somewhat more elevated point. There are involved herein high and solemn obligations on Virginia if she would ever strive to fulfil her destiny. The introduction of industry and enterprise is matter to her of moral obligation; the endeavour to add to the stock of wealth of the State, as a token and source of general prosperity, is even a moral duty in her case. It is the distinguishing glory and responsibility of the American States, that

“In their proper motion they ascend;
 ————descent and fall
 To them is adverse.”

It is only by “compulsion and laborious flight” that they sink at all. The fitting herself for the rivalry in prosperity and moral dignity, which the

Old World beholds in North America with awe and wonder, is the most august of all interests and duties, it seems to us, in the appointment of the Providence of the Almighty, save only one: *conscience* and *liberty* are the highest concerns to her and to every people! Let any one select for himself out of the pictures of the prosperity of the United States drawn in the books of travellers, of public economists, or of political speculators: Europe sighs at these bright sketches of transatlantic felicity; yet, of all these brilliant traits, how few are true of Virginia! Indeed though literally true of some parts of America, they are scarcely at all descriptive of this, or of any among the older slave-holding States. Suppose the war of American Independence had resulted in nothing but the establishment of the Atlantic slave-holding States as new sovereignties:—the world would have been still to seek for a home for the emigrants of all nations, and for the grand series of spectacles which are said to be the dearest sight in the eyes of the powers above: that of men congregating together to found new cities under just laws. Even as early as the date of the Federal Constitution, eastern Virginia had begun to show many of the symptoms of an old commonwealth: a tendency to decline, under the influence of an apathy almost on a level with that of the people of the Pope's dominions; while New-York appeared manifestly the cradle of a vast nation. It seems to us, we must confess, that of all the States, none is more unequivocally marked out by nature for the prosperous abode of a homogeneous race of freemen than Virginia. Her's is not a land which should have been stained by the tread of a slave. A philosopher who had surveyed the map of Virginia, noted between what degrees she is placed, with what a wealth of land and water she is endowed, and how she is rounded off into an empire to herself, would hear with amazement that she had suicidally adopted slave labour. We extract the following faithful picture from the official report of the principal engineer of Virginia for the year 1827.

"No where has the kind hand of Providence been more profusely bountiful than in Virginia; blessed with a climate, and a fertile soil, producing cotton and the best tobacco, besides the common staples of the northern States, to which she even exports her flour; abounding with rich mines; her coal nearer to tide water than that of any other State. Virginia is no less favoured in her geographical position: she occupies in the Union an important central position, and the mouth of the Chesapeake; that fine harbour, always open, strongly protected against aggression, is equal even to that of New-York. [Add to this that no State is more blessed in the number, character, and distribution of her rivers.] She possesses, besides, perhaps more than any other State, the elements of manufactures; she has in abundance water power, coal, iron and raw materials. With these immense resources Virginia may ask why she is not the most flourishing State in the Union? Why she does not occupy the commercial station for which nature designed her? Circumstances purely accidental and temporary can alone have produced this state of things."

It is food for irony, aye very bitter irony, to know that a country, thus made the fittest in the world for freemen, is not in fact good enough to be worked by slaves! We seem to have before us in her the image of a youthful power of the world lapsed from her high destiny, and in the homage of filial awe and grief we bow down with trembling over her decay! It is to us men of the western world as if the "Prince of the lights of heaven, which now as a giant doth run his unwearied course, should, as it were through a languishing faintness, begin to stand and to rest himself."* Yet, we fondly imagine, it is but for a moment: the fiery vigour shall soon work off the corruption, and the celestial origin shall quickly show itself in a career of uneclipsed beauty. And when Virginia, by disembarassing herself of all checks on her prosperity, and purging off all her evils, is fully girt for the race she has appointed to her, we are persuaded that there is not one wholesome feeling, not one patriotic principle, which might gain her the affection of the southern States, (let her not fear this), and the admiration of all, and that could make her eminent among commonwealths, which she would be found to want.

* Hooker, I. 3.

If such be the evils under which Virginia has already languished, it does not remain to consider whether they are likely to increase. They must increase; they are rapidly corroding all the hitherto sound elements, and they will go on to spread mischiefs of their own kind until they will be felt by all to have effected absolute ruin. But as soon as slavery has grown to a great extent, there comes in a new evil of a different cast: this is *danger*, physical danger. On this subject, we forbear to touch, except with a scrupulous hand. We feel all the delicacy of urging any considerations addressed to the fears of a gallant people. But there is that in the nature of a servile war, which sets at nought as well the most chivalrous courage, as the security of civil police and of military discipline. We may go on to say then, that in 1830, the whole population of Virginia was 1,211,272, of which 694,445 are whites, 469,724 are slaves, 47,103 free blacks; that 457,000 blacks are east of the Blue Ridge, while only 375,935 whites are east of the mountains.* We do not believe that in any short time to come the blacks will be able to rise and overpower the whites. But the experience of 1831 teaches what an amount of calamity in fact, and misery from alarm, may be the result of the insurrection of a contemptible handful of slaves. These partial risings may occur at any time: are they not worthy of anticipatory apprehension? But that the time will come when the blacks will be so numerous and so concentrated in a section of the State, as to be truly formidable to the whites, we cannot doubt, if the fixed principles of our species prove but faithful to themselves. We have seen how slow is the increase of the white population in Virginia, and we must not overlook the fact of the rapid increase of the black. Notwithstanding the constant drain of her slaves (say 6000, or one-half of their increase) to supply the plantations of the new States, the slaves have so multiplied, that though east of the Blue Ridge in 1790 the whites had a majority of 25,000, in 1830 the blacks had grown to a majority of 81,000! The emigration of whites in this period has by no possibility equalled that of blacks. What are the presages to be drawn from this? But some flatter themselves that this relative inequality will not increase—perhaps will not be even so great in 1840. Mr. Marshall has told us, that by the census of 1830, the number of slaves in Eastern Virginia under ten years of age, exceeds that of whites of the same age, more than 31,000! What can more solemnly show that the disparity existing in our generation is small compared with that which will in all probability exist in the generation of our children?

But it has been said by some that even this probable increase portends no danger, if the whites do but go on increasing, though in unequal proportions. It is proved thus:

The police necessary to keep order in a community is never greater than one man out of every hundred;—thus while the population is one hundred, the hundredth man may not be able to enforce obedience;—when grown to a thousand, the one hundred police men may succeed better, and when arrived at a million, the decimal ten thousand is certain to maintain order under all circumstances. In this way it is pretended that the security goes on increasing. It is all a mistake, then, that rebellions have ever triumphed in countries where the police (civil or military), amounted to ten thousand!—But every one sees up to what point it is true, that the safety increases *pari passu* with the materials of danger, and how as you pass that point the security diminishes. Virginia, herself, has already passed this point. We recommend this security to England in her police in Ireland: she will find the two millions of Protestants able to furnish twice ten thousand men, who demonstratively can keep down the five millions of Catholics without aid from

* It will be perceived that we have studiously avoided making invidious distinctions between Virginia east and west of the Blue Ridge, and this even at the risk of doing much injustice to the west. Once for all, it is to be understood, that the mischiefs of slavery are much less in the west than the east. But we are determined to regard the State as one, and the ills suffered by one part as the common calamity, proper for the deliberation of every county.

England: but if they cannot do it to-day, they surely will, when the two parties have each doubled their numbers. This method of deriving increasing security from redoubling danger, is parallel to Hermes Harris's definition of the indefinite article: "a method of supply by negation." It follows from it that Virginia was all along mistaken, when, before the Revolution, she essayed three and twenty times to gain the royal assent to a law to provide for her domestic safety by prohibiting the further introduction of slaves from Africa; that she but exposed herself to ridicule, when she taunted the king in the preamble to her constitution, with "the inhuman use of the royal negative;" and that Louisiana has wholly blundered in laying so many obstacles in the way of the introduction of slaves from the other States, under hope to save herself from future civil war. But the example of Brazil is pointed out to us: it is true that Brazil is imbruted by a proportion of four millions of slaves to one million of whites, and her unnatural empire still exists. Yes, and her existence hangs by a hair. If we are not misinformed, the German recruits that mutinied for ill treatment, and were quelled by the slaves being turned loose on them, (they were proclaimed free game to any slave that would massacre them—what the poor Germans would have called *vogelfrey*,) might give our speculatists a lesson on the terrors of the Brazilian slave population.

But grant it true, that the multiplication of the slaves will not go on at the present rapid rate, in Virginia: when we consider that there are adequate causes working which are certain to keep back the whites, it is impossible not to regard the increase of the slaves at any probable rate as full of danger. It is the simple case of a distinct race of people within our bosom, now nearly equal, soon to be more numerous than ourselves, exposed to every temptation (we do not say inducement) to become our deadliest foe. This is the danger which reasoning cannot check, nor argument avert. Police can never save harmless against an enemy that is at your hearth and in the most confidential relations with you. Besides, what profit does slavery confer on Virginia to make any one willing to see established a standing force of five or ten thousand men, at an expense equal to that of the whole peace establishment of the army of the United States?

The only rational ground for believing that Virginia will never contain the vast number of slaves, given by the estimates for the end of the next hundred years, is that the impoverishment of the state will make it impossible to maintain them.*

* We have omitted all mention of the Protective System as a source of ruin to Virginia. For the ills which we have specified, slavery seems to us an adequate cause. It seems at least reasonable to attribute no ills to the Tariff, except such as can be shown to have arisen since 1824. None of those enumerated have had so late an origin. The previous disabling of Virginia by slavery, has doubtless rendered her much more susceptible of injury from the errors of that system.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

[Communicated.]

STATISTICS.

The following statement was made out for the purpose of being embodied in an essay which I contemplate preparing for publication. But as some time will elapse before that article can be got ready, and as this statement will very well bear repeating, I beg leave to offer it now, for the Repository.

That part of the United States where laws have been enacted for the abolition of Slavery, contained in 1790—1,963,355 inhabitants;

in 1830—7,016,718 inhabitants.

That part where no such laws have been enacted, contained

in 1790—1,966,572 inhabitants; and

in 1830—5,849,302 inhabitants.

In 1790, there were north of the Potomac and Ohio,
 Whites, 2,155,835: Blacks—186,344: Total—2,342,179;
 In 1830, " 7,366,773: " 354,025: " 7,720,795.
 South of the Potomac and Ohio,
 In 1790, Whites, 1,016,629: Blacks, 571,019: Total—1,587,648;
 In 1830, " 3,170,605: " 1,974,620: " 5,145,225.

Thus we see that in 1790, the Blacks south, were about half as many as the Whites: or, 1-3 of the entire population. In 1830, they made *two fifths*. The blacks had nearly *quadrupled* their number; and the whites tripled their's.—North, the *whites* are nearly *quadruple*; and the *blacks* not quite *double*.

If the southern increase of whites had been in equal ratio with the northern, there would have been, in 1830, nearly half a million more of whites, south of the Potomac, than there were. In 1790, the States which have abolished and prohibited slavery, had 629,288 more of whites than the rest of the country had; and in 1830, 3,214,032, more.

Of the entire population, the present slaveholding region had, in 1790—3,217 more than the present *non-slaveholding*; and in 1830, the non-slaveholding had, 1,167,416 more than the slaveholding.

South Carolina in 1790, 140,178 Whites, 108,895 Blacks.

" 1830, 257,878 " 323,580 "

East Virginia in 1790, 507,855 Whites, 303,976 Blacks.

" 1830, 375,940 " 457,039 "

Supposing the increase to go on as from 1790 to 1830, (and what is there to prevent it for 120 years?) there will be for the south

	Whites.	Blacks.	Total.
in 40 years from 1830,	9,400,000	and about 8,000,000	17,400,000
" 80 " " "	28,400,000	" 30,000,000	58,400,000
" 120 " " "	85,300,000	" 120,000,000	205,300,000

And for the north, in 120 years, a population of 320,000,000.

Admitting the country, south, to support 100 persons for every square mile, there would be subsistence for only 38,000,000. In 80 years the black population alone will exceed this, by 8,000,000; and we have 167,000,000 of people left without the means of subsistence. But will they stay there and starve, 5,500,000 human beings, *annually*? Surely not; if there be any possibility of going where subsistence can be procured.

But the blacks will not have the power to emigrate—the *whites must*.

The people of the north will want homes for their 300,000,000 of descendants, and will never consent to their exclusion from the fertile regions of the West by a population of slaves—when, by commencing *now* they might *all* be so easily removed, and to the very great advantage of the individuals immediately interested, as well as of the community in general.

The progress of the business will be this,—In about twenty years the south will have as many slaves as can be profitably employed. The poorer (the labouring) class of whites, will now find it difficult to procure a livelihood, and will forthwith emigrate to the other States. Next, the poorer class of *slaveholders* will sell off to their more wealthy neighbours, and remove also to the non-slaveholding States. They will be obliged to sell their slaves in the present slaveholding region, for no one, I suppose, imagines that it will ever be enlarged. After these, others will continue to sell off to the more wealthy who remain;—and finally, they, in their turn, will think themselves fortunate to be allowed the privilege of emigrating also without leaving any to *purchase their slaves*.—And after this, the *blacks themselves* will find it necessary to emigrate, by thousands and millions, mingling with the whites as at present, in a state of degradation and wretchedness, worse than slavery itself.

For this, there is no remedy but *colonization*—speedily and vigorously prosecuted.

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

[From a Correspondent of the National Intelligencer.]

North of the Potomac and Ohio.			South of the Potomac and Ohio.		
1790	White	2,155,835		1,016,629	
	Slaves	147,293		550,604	
	Free colored	39,051	186,344	20,415	571,019
	Total,	2,342,179		1,587,648	
1800	White	2,877,643		1,426,846	
	Slaves	150,978		742,063	
	Free colored	75,793	226,771	32,604	774,667
	Total,	3,104,414		2,201,513	
1810	White	3,977,023		1,884,981	
	Slaves	151,595		1,039,769	
	Free colored	128,400	279,995	58,046	1,097,815
	Total,	4,257,018		2,982,796	
1820	White	5,436,737		2,429,832	
	Slaves	138,817		1,399,221	
	Free colored	156,484	295,301	77,040	1,476,261
	Total,	5,732,038		3,906,093	
1830	White	7,366,773		3,170,605	
	Slaves	140,985		1,868,058	
	Free colored	213,037	354,023	106,562	1,974,620
	Total,	7,720,795		5,145,225	

VIRGINIA.			
	Whites.	Slaves.	Free colored.
1790 East of the Mountains,	507,885	291,273	12,703
1830 do do do	375,940	416,259	40,708
1790 West of the Mountains,	34,230	2,154	63
1830 do do do	318,505	53,465	6,323

SOUTH CAROLINA.			
	Whites.	Slaves.	Free colored.
1790	140,178	107,094	1,801
1830	257,878	315,665	7,915

[The foregoing, will answer a part of Mr. BIBB's resolution. I pronounce it an accurate statement; and it cost me no little labour.]

FROM LIBERIA.

By the Ship Lafayette, and the Brig Ruth, despatches have been received from the Colony, bearing dates up to the 21st of February. The emigrants by the Hercules, the Roanoke, and the Lafayette had arrived in safety.—The Colonial Agent had been severely ill, in consequence of exposure in a canoe at sea, in returning from a visit to Grand Bassa, where a purchase has been made of a valuable tract of country on the south side of St. John's river, containing from 150 to 200 square miles, including the river and principal town, which the chief insisted should be included in the Colony, as he desired to become a part of it. This land is the best timbered in the Colony; and it is said has several mill seats on it. The settlement commenced there, appears to be in a prosperous state. The territory just obtained, through the well-directed efforts of the Agent, will prove of great value, and opens a new and interesting field to the enterprise of the settlers.

We state, with deep regret, that complaints have been made to the Board, by several of the emigrants, by recent expeditions, of the insufficiency and

unwholesomeness of the provisions issued to them, and of a want of that cordiality and kindness towards them which they might have reasonably expected from the earlier settlers in the colony. Evils doubtless there are in the colony, which should be remedied, and to the execution of measures for effecting this, will the immediate and most earnest efforts of the Managers be directed. These evils arise, in great part, from the neglect of agricultural pursuits, and to habits among a certain class of the settlers, which have grown out of their success in trade, and which excite in the community generally, an overanxious desire for immediate gain, although in manifest disregard of the lasting improvement and prosperity of the colony. Experience is the great teacher of society as well as of individuals, and it cannot fail to change the present state of things. The Managers have ordered ample supplies for the new settlers to be forthwith shipped to the colony, and adopted the most efficient means for the redress of all grievances.

A recent arrival brought us the last number of the *LIBERIA HERALD*, under date of January 10th. It contains a well written editorial article on the New Year, in which the writer dwells with much feeling and even eloquence, on the propitious progress of the colony, and on its advantages to his colored brethren. We subjoin the concluding passages of the article referred to:

"But while we have been attending to those things which affect our outward comfort, the intellectual wants of our rising generation have not passed by unnoticed. Schools have been established in our different settlements, and efforts are making to raise means for another among our re-captured Africans. Have we rich friends in America, who feel willing to aid the cause of God and man, by dispelling the moral darkness around us? Spare a little of your abundance, toward the cause of education among our re-captured Africans, and the blessing of hundreds will descend upon you. With the increased means of the society, more attention has been paid to the comfort of new comers, and during the past year, three extensive buildings have been put up solely for their accommodation.

"With the year that is past our colony has also extended her limits, and so securely do the emigrants to Grand Bassa consider themselves located, that most of them have sent for their families, who left here a few days since in the Margaret Mercer, for that settlement.

"We should consider ourselves as a peculiarly favored people, for even now while the demon of disunion is about to enter among the confederated states of our native land, we have been spared from any thing of that kind; our commerce has been extending, and our infant colony becoming more known to the civilized world. The very name of Africa, hitherto, has been a terror to mankind, but we thank God, that there is one spot in it, upon which the eye of philanthropy can rest with pleasure, as the workmanship of its own hands—one spot to which the weary wanderers of the ocean can repair for refreshment and health."

Since the preceding number of the Herald was published, *thirteen* vessels had arrived at, and *twelve* sailed from the port of Monrovia.

From the price current contained in the last Herald, it appears that at its date there was no supply in the colony of Beef, cargo No. 1, Blue Bafts, Corn Meal, Molasses, Gin, N. England Rum, Shoes, or Shad; and that Flour, Mackerel No. 3, Pork, &c. were selling at high prices.

LETTER.

AGENCY OF ELLIOTT CRESSON, ESQ., IN ENGLAND.

This zealous and indefatigable friend of the Society, has excited a deep and extensive interest in its behalf, throughout a great part of England and Scotland. The following letter gives an account of a meeting, recently held at Dundee.

DUNDEE, 23rd January, 1833.

DEAR FRIEND: A public meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, in this place, was held this evening, in the Steeple Church, for the purpose of giving Mr. Cresson an opportunity of pleading the cause of the American Colonization Society.

The Rev. Dr. Peters in the Chair, opened the meeting with prayer, and introduced Mr. Cresson:—

Mr. Cresson then rose, and in a most eloquent speech, gave an interesting account of the nature, operations, objects, success, and prospects of the American Colonization Society, and of the settlement of freed slaves at Liberia, and powerfully set forth the claims of the negro and much injured Africa, on British benevolence. Having concluded:

It was moved by the Rev. James Thomson, seconded by the Rev. John Macvicar, and

Resolved, unanimously, "That this meeting, hail with the highest satisfaction, the establishment of a Colony of manumitted slaves, and of other persons of colour at Liberia, as a most likely means of promoting the christianizing and civilizing of that much injured country; and for eventually putting an end to the disgraceful traffic in human beings which has too long prevailed in different parts of the world."

On the motion of the Rev. David Russell, seconded by Mr. Andrew Low, it was

Resolved, unanimously, "That this meeting feel particular pleasure from observing that the whole of the proceedings of the American Colonization Society are based on a becoming regard to the principles of genuine christianity; the only sure foundation on which either personal or national prosperity can be reared; and without which, the best human institution must utterly fail to promote the freedom or the happiness of mankind."

On the motion of Mr. Cruickshank, and seconded by the Rev. Mr. Renney, it was

Resolved, unanimously, "That this meeting express their approbation of the principles and proceedings of the American Colonization Society; and their earnest desire that a scheme so propitiously commenced, may be zealously prosecuted, until the whole slave population of North America be manumitted; and such a spirit of rational and enlightened freedom diffused over the length and breadth of much injured Africa, as may by the divine blessing serve to put down forever, the cruel and demoralizing traffic in human beings throughout that vast continent."

On the motion of the Rev. Matthew Frazer, seconded by Mr. Daniel Urquhart, it was

Resolved, unanimously, "That a collection shall be made at the close of this meeting, and the amount paid over to Mr. Cresson for the American Colonization Society, to be applied by them, in such a way as to them may appear best, for the accomplishment of their truly humane and christian objects."

Mr. Frazer now read extracts from a circular, under date 14th January, 1833, which he received from the Anti-Slavery Society, London, recommending the importance and propriety of the duty of petitioning Parliament, earnestly praying for the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in all the colonies of Great Britain, under such provisions as may be found necessary for the safety of all parties:—And on the motion of the Rev. Mr. Thomson, it was unanimously agreed, that petitions to this effect should be drawn up and signed by the President and Secretary of the Dundee Anti-Slavery Society, and transmitted in proper time to both Houses of Parliament.

The Rev. Dr. Peters pronounced the Apostolic benediction, and the meeting was dissolved. The collection amounted to £9 s12 d10.

MATTHEW FRAZER, *Secretary*.

Under date of NOTTINGHAM, ENGLAND, 25th August, 1832, Mr. CRESSON writes:

"My last was a month since, announcing, I believe, our first meeting at Norwich, and the subscription of nearly £60. Soon after I had a small meeting at Wisbeach, the birth place of Clarkson, and others with good success, at Long Sutton, Holbeach and Spalding. I found a most hearty welcome in some places where I little expected it. The week before last I had five meetings in four days. Though unwell, I summoned all my strength to return to Lincoln, and held a second meeting there as I had first done at Boston. It was very crowded, the Mayor in the chair—and the next morning I found enough had been sent to our friends, (£15) for sending two manumitted slaves to Liberia. At Spalding, they had reached three. I also held a small meeting at Newark. I rode over to Derby yesterday, and was received most kindly."

Mr. CRESSON, writes from AYTON, YORKSHIRE, November 11th, 1832, That great opposition has been raised against the Society, by those who urge the immediate, entire and unconditional emancipation of all slaves, and that many misrepresentations have been urged against the Society. At Beverly, a circular was set afloat to destroy his prospects, and he adds: "I felt aroused by honest indignation, and in a style of earnest, and I found of con-

vincing argument, I was favored to make nearly 1000 persons feel, that although they came as our enemies, they could not leave the house, other than our friends. Indeed in many places, I have been surprised and gratified to observe, how far honest, straight-forward, earnest labour has produced similar results. To return to the Branches in which I have been most busy, the Secretary of the Corresponding Committee at Hull, is James Bowden, Esq., and as Hull is in the Naval centre of that part of England, please let his cover parcels for the Rev. Mr. Gledhall, Sec. of the Doncaster Col. Society; Miss Roby, Sec. of the Ladies Society at Doncaster; J. Hutchinson, Esq., Sec. of Selby Col. Society; Miss M. Langhorne, Sec. of Alford Ladies Branch; Henry Lucas, Esq.; Another parcel for the United Ladies and Gentlemens Society, Louth; Thomas Peckslay, Esq., Sec. of Lincoln Branch; John Campion, Esq., Sec. of Whitby Branch; Humphry Sandwith, Esq. Sec. of Bridlington Branch; Thomas Sandwith, Esq., Sec. of Beverly Branch, and Dr. Eddison, Sec. of Nottingham Branch; each of these to be separately done up and directed, yet all to be under cover to James Bowden, Hull.

About the period of my last, I had a large meeting at Nottingham; about fifteen hundred attended. I then tarried a few days at Newstead Abbey. Doncaster was then my head quarters for some time, and spent some days in visiting the neighboring gentry, some of whom attended. Two Branches were formed, and nearly £30 paid. Both there and at Leeds, the Ladies are endeavouring to get up Bazaars for us. I also visited York, and in their meeting, had an audience of about eight hundred. Selby possesses a liberal Rector, who opened to me his magnificent old church, built in 1068, presided at the meeting, and by this, secured an audience of about fifteen hundred; the Committee writes, that nearly £40 has been subscribed. It will appear by the above list, that I stirred up Alford and Louth. At Hull, I made good our principles and practice against various allegations, and secured some warm friends, and about £20. At Bridlington too, in addition to £8, much good feeling was excited, and several good Ladies will try a Branch. At Whitby, one thousand attended at the first meeting, and at the second, more than could be accommodated in our place of meeting; much good feeling was excited, and the Rector, Rev. F. H. Pope, presided; many came forward at the close of the meeting, and an annual subscription was made of £8. Late on the same evening, a poor old widow called on our Rev. Chairman, and told him that she could not, peacefully go to rest, until she gave him £1 for so noble an object, and he was so delighted with the circumstance, that he brought it to me at candle light yesterday morning, knowing that I was on the wing. I had a stormy ride in open vehicles, both before and after meeting at Guisboro, and although under circumstances so chilling to the system, yet my mind has been warmed by the belief, that in most of my visits, positive good has been effected, even where little cash has been received. Thus, during the few hours spent at G., a female friend who had been so interested in my statements, as to have left us one-fourth of her fortune in a former will, and had been so poisoned by an Agent of the Anti-Slavery Society, as to cut us off, was by this visit set right.

Do you want Arabic Testaments for schools or distribution in Africa; if so, you can mention it when you reply to Dr. Hodgkin's proffer to secure a fount of Arabic Type, and I can get a liberal supply sent out by the Bible Society, via Sierra Leone.

STOCKTON 14th—I have had a public meeting here this evening, and have been much pleased with the result, for the Mayor, Leonard Ransbeck, Esq., proposed the formation of a Branch—So, also do the Ladies. Independent of the subscriptions, the Wesleyans made up £16 to send out a manumitted slave preacher and wife, to be approved by Rev. G. G. Cookman.

Under date of January 1st, 1833, from ABERDEEN.

In Edinburgh we had a noble meeting. From a paper forwarded by Mr. Cresson, it appears, that this meeting was held in St Andrews Church, and that Lord Moncrieff, the Lord Advocate, J. A. Murray, Esq., M. P. James Simpson, Esq., Advocate, J. S. More, Esq., Advocate, the Rev. Dr. Ingles, Rev. Dr. Grant, Rev. Edward Craig and other Clergymen and influential individuals, honored the meeting with their presence—Lord Moncrieff presided, and made an impressive speech. After an interesting and eloquent address from Mr. Cresson, the Lord Advocate made an eloquent speech and submitted the following resolution.

1. *Resolved*, That this meeting view with unmixed satisfaction, the establishment of the free and independent settlement of Negroes on the West Coast of Africa, called Liberia, under the patronage of the American Colonization Society—because they consider it as the most likely means to civilize and christianize the natives of Africa—to diminish, and ultimately annihilate the slave trade, by preventing its supply at its source—and to forward the cause of the abolition of slavery itself, by opening a channel in which benevolence may flow safely, in providing for the emancipated negro an asylum and a country in a region and climate for which his physical constitution is peculiarly fitted.

Dr. Grant seconded this resolution and supported it in an able manner.

The second resolution was then offered by Mr. Simpson, Advocate, and seconded by Mr. Wardlaw Ramsay.

2. That this meeting are disposed to welcome a plan, which with a due regard to the free-will, rights, and feelings of both the black and white population, tends to commence the cure of the evil of slavery itself, by re-establishing the African in possession of every social and political right in the land of his ancestors.

J. A. Murray, Esq., then introduced the third Resolution with some appropriate remarks,

in which he expressed his concurrence in the sentiments so admirably expressed by the noble Chairman, and the Lord Advocate.

3. That this meeting highly approve of the principles and motives of the American Colonization Society, and applaud the judicious course which they have followed, in doing all the direct good in their power, while they carefully avoid in any way interfering with other existing institutions; and in particular, in leaving Anti-Slavery, and Negro Education Societies, and the American Legislatures themselves, to pursue their proper course in the great work of justice to the injured sons of Africa.

That a collection now be made in aid of the funds of the Colonization Society, and subscription papers lodged at the different Banks; the proceeds to be received and transmitted to the Society's Bankers in London, by a Committee, consisting of the following gentlemen, for the purpose of corresponding with the Society in America, in any way that may promote the great cause of African deliverance, and of maintaining in Edinburgh a sympathy with their benevolent views, and an interest in their success:—

Lord Moncrieff
Lord Advocate
Solicitor General Cockburn
Rev. Dr. Grant
Rev. Dr. Inglis
Rev. John Hunter,
Geo. Forbes, Esq. Coates House
Sir J. W. Riddle
R. M. Ramsay, Esq.
James Simpson, Esq.

Alex. Cruickshank
Rev. Wm. Ennes
Charles Maclaren, Esq.
George Combe, Esq.
Dr. Gillies
Alexr. Craig, Esq.
Mr. M'Callum
Farq. Gordon, Esq.
Rev. Edward Craig

The several resolutions having been moved and seconded, were put from the chair, and carried with unanimous approbation.

Mr. Simpson then moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Cresson, who had done his duty so nobly in advocating the cause of the oppressed, and illustrating so graphically, the intended objects and intention of founding the colony of negroes in Liberia. He was sure a warm expression of thanks would embody the feeling of every one present.

Lord Moncrieff said, we have one sincere pledge that Mr. Cresson comes among us with disinterested views. He came all the way from Philadelphia, and has been a long time in this kingdom, making what efforts he could to enlist British feeling in the object of his mission, and this entirely at his own expense.

Mr. Cresson, in returning thanks, professed himself unable to express a tithe of the gratitude he entertained for the honor conferred upon him by the meeting. He saw in this mark of their approbation an earnest of the change of feeling which had taken place in this country with regard to America. When he last visited Great Britain, about seven years ago, he thought there was a prevailing disposition to undervalue and talk lightly of the institutions and people of his native country; but he was happy now to observe, that feelings quite the reverse were generally diffused.

In his letter, Mr. Cresson observes:—

"When I first arrived at Edinburgh, the clouds which lowered rendered my prospects gloomy, but when I presented the evidence of our just claims to their confidence and regard, my cause was won with some hundred persons who had been much affected by the attacks upon us, and to none do we owe more than to Mrs. Fletcher, a lady of great influence with the highest classes. The Committee seem disposed to resolve themselves into a permanent Branch, in which case, I shall hope that £100 now subscribed, and received at the two meetings, will be made up to £800 as requisite to founding a little separate town to be called EDINA."

From the Greenock Advertiser of the 28th of January, we perceive that a pretty numerous and highly respectable meeting has been held in that City, at which sundry Resolutions in favour of African Colonization were adopted. Bailes Baine, Esq., presided; the meeting was addressed by Mr. Cresson, Rev. Mr. Cunningham, the Rev. Mr. Morran, and others. A Committee was appointed to receive donations.

The Aberdeen Journal of the 6th of February, contains a highly encouraging account of a meeting held the previous week in that city, at which Alexander Bannerman, Esq. M. P. presided. Eloquent speeches were made by Mr. Bannerman, Mr. Cresson, the Rev. Principal Dewar, the Rev. D. Simpson, the Rev. J. Brown, (the resolution offered by this gentleman was seconded by Sheriff Watson,) Abercrombie Gordon, Mr. Parker and Mr. Foote.

The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That this meeting view with satisfaction, the establishment of the independent colony of Liberia, as being the most likely means of civilizing and Christianizing Africa, and of abolishing the slave trade.

Resolved, That the meeting view the existence of the two classes of white and black in one community, as a serious evil, producing domination in the one and degradation in the other; and that the meeting welcome the plan laid before them, as it tends to establish the African in the possession of his social and political rights, in the land of his ancestors.

Resolved, That the meeting highly approve of the principles and conduct of the American Colonization Society; that a collection now be made in aid of its funds; and that sub-

scriptions be received at the banks, and a committee appointed for furthering the objects of the society. The motion was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Allan, of Union Chapel.

The Scots Times, printed at Glasgow, gives a full and interesting statement of the meeting held in that city on the 20th of February, to aid the colony of Liberia. Andrew Mitchell, Esq. took the chair, and after addresses from the chairman and Mr. Cresson, on motion of Principal Macfarlan, (who introduced the resolution with a short and eloquent speech,) seconded by Mr. Smith, of Jordanhill, it was

Resolved, That this meeting are disposed to welcome the plan of the American Colonization Society, for the establishment of the free and Christian settlement of negroes on the west coast of Africa, called Liberia, by which an asylum is provided for the emancipated negro in a region and climate peculiarly adapted to his physical constitution; and which, with a due regard to the free will, rights, and feelings of both the black and white races of men, tends to commence the cure of slavery, by re-establishing the African in the possession of every social and political right in the land of his ancestors, by preventing all traffic in slaves, and by introducing civilization and Christianity into that quarter of the globe; and accordingly this meeting highly approve, not only of the principles and motives of the society, but also of the judicious course which they have followed in doing all the good in their power, while they carefully avoid in any way interfering with other existing institutions.

Dr. Smyth moved the next resolution, which was seconded by Baillie Paul, and also unanimously agreed to:

Resolved, That subscription papers be now opened, and a collection made, in aid of the funds of the Colonization Society; the proceeds to be received and transmitted to the society's bankers in London, by a committee consisting of the following gentlemen, who shall have power to add to their number, and who shall continue from time to time to collect and remit such further sums as may be contributed; and also to correspond with the society in America, with the view of promoting the great cause of African deliverance, and of maintaining in Glasgow a sympathy with their benevolent purposes, and an interest in their success:

The Very Rev. Principal Macfarlan, D. D.

The Rev. John Smith, D. D.

The Rev. Wm. Kidston, D. D.

The Rev. J. G. Lorimer,

The Rev. George Almond,

The Rev. Chas. Brown,

Hugh Cogan, Esq.

Patrick Falconer, Esq.

Wm. Gordon Mack, Esq.

Aw. McGeorge, Esq.

Henry Paul, Esq.

Robt. Jamieson, Esq.

Walter Buchanan, Esq.

Robert Bartholomew, Esq.

J. J. Duncan, Esq.

The Rev. D. Nasmyth,

Professor Hocker,

William Dunn, Esq.

James Smith, Esq.

Andrew Mitchell, Esq.

James Hutchinson, Esq.

John Bain, Esq.

Andrew Tennent, Esq.

Andrew Galbraith, Esq.

John Ker, Esq.

Archd. Harvey, Esq.

J. A. Fullerton, Esq.

James Mitchell, Esq. Secretary and Treasurer.

It is delightful to know, that the people of England, are thus ready to express their approbation of our cause, that they are disposed to contribute to its success, and we trust that our own countrymen will feel prompted by a stronger spirit, and moved to larger deeds of benevolence to Africa, in view of the approving aspect and generous co-operation of the generous and noble-minded of Great Britain.

INTELLIGENCE.

REPORTS OF AGENTS.

Rev. J. N. DANFORTH reports, under date of Boston, March 1, 1833, that the Rev. Mr. Pearl has passed through the principal towns of Vermont, and been engaged occasionally in public discussions. He, (the Rev. Mr. Danforth) has been writing and circulating a series of weekly numbers throughout New England and New York, "adapted to meet the present state of the public mind, and to obviate objections which are disseminated by the friends of the New England Anti-Slavery Society"—Has made particular efforts, and succeeded in obtaining the "services of some gentlemen of the best talents and devotedness to the cause of benevolence," who, at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Society, addressed the congre-

gation with the happiest effect. A powerful impulse was given to the cause in that region, through the instrumentality of that meeting. Mr. Danforth delivered an address to the young men, in the old South Church, which was well attended:—He was enabled to get up a meeting of about one hundred, for the purpose of forming a Young Men's Society; and, though interrupted by Messrs. Buffum & Garrison, took the preparatory measures to the organization of an efficient institution.—At a subsequent meeting it was completed, and HENRY HUGGERFORD, Esq. was elected President, and B. B. THATCHER, Esq. Secretary.

Being in Marblehead, he heard that Mr. Garrison, one of the leaders of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, (who had with

such perseverance opposed our cause,) had given public notice of a lecture to be delivered by him in the Lyceum at Salem, on Monday evening, Feb. 18th, on the origin, principles, and tendency of our society. The writer went to Salem to endeavour to obviate, if possible, the injurious effect that might result from the strange and distorted views which enemies to our institution are known to inculcate concerning it. He did not consider one so adverse as Mr. G. to the society, a proper person to expound its doctrines. He called on Mr. Garrison, and offered to debate the question with him that evening. Mr. G. offered his coadjutor, Mr. Buffum, as a substitute on another evening. They were permitted to draw up their own resolutions, and the whole evening of the 18th was spent in debating the first two of the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That the authentic publications of the American Colonization Society demonstrate that the institution originated with slave holders, and that it does not appear that they have manumitted their own slaves.

2. *Resolved*, That the avowed and only object of the society is, to remove from the United States, and colonize in some foreign country, that portion of the people of color who are already free, or who may hereafter be made free by the influence of anti-slavery principles.

Resolution 3d, prepared by Mr. Buffum but not discussed:

1. *Resolved*, That the tendency of the society is, to give increased security and interest to the slave system, and especially to the domestic slave trade; also to excite and perpetuate unholy prejudices against the free people of color in this country.

The first resolution passed, Mr. D. thinks, from some misapprehension of its purport, particularly of the latter part, since it is to be determined by evidence, that most of the managers hold no slaves at all; and the manager who owned the largest number, had offered them their freedom, which they declined accepting. The meeting having adjourned until Friday evening, when Wm. Ladd, Esq. Dr. Flint, Mr. Garrison and others, took part in the debate, the second resolution was rejected by a large majority; the third resolution was dropped in silence. The full development of the objects of the society on this occasion, placed it in the power of its friends to pass their vote in approbation of these objects; but they wished not to continue the controversy. All we ask, says Mr. D. is to be permitted, unmolested by captious objections, and unreasonable obstacles to pursue our object: the colonization and Christianization of Africa. We have no need to fear discussion. Any fair comparison of views must result, in an enlightened community, in establishing our positions on a strong and impregnable basis.

J. G. BIRNEY, Esq. writes under date of Huntsville, Alabama, Jan. 24th, 1833, "That many free people of color in Tennessee, begin to talk much about going to the colony. At New Orleans, March 18th, he writes: "On

Sunday evening, the 10th instant, I addressed a large meeting for about an hour and a quarter. The effect, I have reason to hope, was to remove all prejudices against the American Colonization Society, and promote a general approbation of the scheme. Although I had gone into the examination of it in reference to the peculiar condition of this state, and of the south generally, as far as I thought was at all necessary, there was nothing like opposition or alarm created. The blacks, both free and slaves, were permitted to be present. At a subsequent meeting a collection was taken up among a few friends, amounting to \$20 62 cents. The legacy of Judge Workman, it is expected, will soon be paid."

Rev. H. B. BASCOM reports from St. Louis, 5th March, 1833:—Had addressed an unusually large audience the day previous—the collection exceeded a hundred dollars, and considerably more than one hundred members joined the society: left the collection in the hands of the society. He says our interest here is strong.

The same gentleman reports again from Glen Cottage, Kentucky, 26th March, 1833, that he had delivered an address in Louisville, Ky. which produced \$150. This sum he left with the society there, and also paid over to the agent of the society, the Rev. Geo. Light, \$50, to enable him to send away some emigrants, which, including a remittance from Cincinnati, and the collection at St. Louis, makes in all \$500.

The Rev. E. W. SEHON writes, under date of Portsmouth, Ohio, January 22d, 1833, that he has visited Circleville, Chillicothe, and Portsmouth, and received in money, about \$200; thinks that a good impression, in favor of the cause, was made in Columbus. One of the most interesting meetings was principally of colored people, who had been opposed to the cause from not having been acquainted with the objects of the society.—"Many of the most violent afterwards gave their names, expressive of their willingness to emigrate." He acknowledges the receipt of the following sums in Columbus: Hon. John McClean, \$10, Gen. Walter Flamer, \$15, and L. Reynolds, Gen. Dille, Chas. Eggleston, Governor Lucas, Gen. Worthington, Uri Scely, J. Hammond, Doct. Goodall, J. McDowell, Mr. Fairbank, Mr. Ridgeway, A. N. Riddle, N. Swayne, Gen. Patterson, R. Begelow, each \$5. Delivered an address at Circleville, collected \$26, and added about 30 members to the society: he also induced nine others to join him in giving each \$5 to the Cincinnati Colonization Society, \$50. Ten others gave each \$1. Delivered an address at Chillicothe; owing to the weather the congregation was small but liberal: the collection was \$27. At Circleville he also received from eleven persons \$50, and added 35 members to the society. In Portsmouth delivered an address and collected \$28 14: he also formed a society, of which 75 persons became members: the amount of the subscription was \$86. He thinks "the cause is rapidly gaining ground, and that the free colored population only need information to make them hail the friends of colonization as the friends of their race."

Under date of March 9, 1833, he writes that he has visited Marietta, Parkersburg, and Cincinnati: In the latter place made an address, and collection in the Methodist Church of \$115. In Marietta, in the Presbyterian Church, \$34. In Parkersburg, a collection of \$6; also acknowledges the receipt of \$100 from Judge Burnet as his subscription on G. Smith's plan: also \$143 from the Cincinnati Colonization Society. He also acknowledges three gold rings from young ladies. He adds that he must resign his agency—an important station in the west being destitute of a Methodist ministry, to which he has been preferred by the Bishop. He says, "I have consented, believing the calls of the church superior to any other; but let me say there is no change in my feelings with regard to the society. No—though I may now cease my exertions as an active agent, I will ever be the ardent friend of our high cause, and will do any thing for the society that lies in my power."

Rev. JAMES LATTA, recently appointed an agent, writes, under date of Greenville, Illinois, 14th February, 1833, that the State Society agrees to furnish to the parent institution one thousand dollars in ten years, by annual and equal instalments—called a meeting of the citizens of Greenville, Bond county, Illinois, and formed a society consisting at present of 43 members, and received subscriptions to the amount of \$15 55.

Rev. GEO. LIGHT, of Kentucky, writes under date of 1st April, 1833—On March 22d, 73 emigrants left Louisville to join 33 others who were waiting at Shawnee town. Capt. Shrodes offered them a passage in his boat to New Orleans without charge. The emigrants are in general young and healthy; some are mechanics, others can read and write; 100 are from Kentucky; 5 from Jonesborough, East Tennessee; and one from Ohio who goes as the representative of from 3 to 500 colored persons, who have a settlement in Brown County. Should he bring a favorable account, they will emigrate. (We have also sent out one from this state to return in the fall: if he report favorably, there will be no further difficulty in procuring emigrants in the west.)—96 of these emigrants were slaves, tendered by their owners for that purpose—the rest were free. The impression made at Louisville was astonishing, and many of the free colored population wish to go with the next expedition. We have collected funds sufficient, I believe, to defray the expense of all the emigrants from Kentucky. Received the following sums of money, and appropriated them to defray the expenses of the five emigrants from Jonesborough, and the one from Ohio, from the Brown County Col. society \$51; cash received by the society at Cincinnati, by Mr. Savage \$30; of the Rev. H. B. Bascom \$50; collected by him for the parent society—in all \$161. He believes that in all, between 250 and 300, some from the west and south-western states, will be at New Orleans ready to emigrate.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

Virginia.—The second annual meeting of the Colonization Society of Virginia was held in the Capitol at Richmond, on Friday evening, January 4, 1833, Chief Justice MARSHALL, the President of the society, in the Chair.

Resolutions were passed accepting the annual report of the managers, recommending to them to present a memorial to the Legislature then in session, praying an appropriation towards defraying the expense of transporting free coloured persons emigrating from the State to Liberia; and appointing as delegates to the ensuing annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, in Washington, the President of the State Society; John Tyler, one of the Vice Presidents; and the Hon. Wm. S. Archer.

The following gentlemen were elected officers and managers for the ensuing year, viz:

President, John Marshall; *Vice Presidents*, James Madison, James Pleasants, John Tyler, Briscoe G. Baldwin, Joseph L. Fry, Hugh Nelson, Wm. H. Broadnax, Wm. Maxwell, Thomas Massie, John F. May, H. G. Winston, and Abel P. Upshur; *Treasurer*, Benjamin Brand; *Corresponding Secretary*, John Rutherford; *Recording Secretary*, David I. Burr; *Managers*, W. H. Fitzwhylson, Robt. G. Scott, John H. Eustace, William Crane, James E. Heath, Hall Neilson, Nicholas Mills, Thos. C. Howard, Fleming James, H. A. Claiborne, Joseph Mayo, and John H. Pleasants.

The report of the Board of Managers is a perspicuous and satisfactory document. It exhibits, in a true point of view, the principles and objects of the society; notices the groundless suspicions which have been entertained against it; and, in animated terms, shows the beneficent results which have been reached, both by the parent society and by its Virginia auxiliary. Among the interesting details of the Report, it appears that during the past year, \$1,569 55 have been contributed to the purposes of the society; that additional members have been united to it; that many of the "most intelligent, active, and useful citizens of Virginia have abandoned their opposition to it, and several have become its members;" that auxiliary societies have been formed in several parts of the State; and that not less than five hundred free blacks have, during the past year, emigrated from the State to Liberia.

After citing the testimony to the prosperous condition of the colony, borne by Capt. Benjamin Page of the United States Navy, in his letter of April 9, 1832, to the Secretary of the Navy, the managers add the following impressive commentary:—

"Here is presented a thriving settlement, springing into life in a distant and uncivilized country. Adopting a republican form of government, and proving by its acts in a series of years, that it possesses ample virtue and intelligence, to conduct prudently and advantageously its own political and municipal affairs—framing laws of the most judicious character—creating offices, and filling them with her best citizens—punishing the vicious,

and giving adequate protection to the rights of persons and of property—instituting a system of schools and education—regulating commerce, both external and internal; and evidencing, in every particular, an entire capacity for self-government. What a contrast is presented to the reflecting mind, between the free men of this colony, and their former condition in our own happy country!

Massachusetts.—The annual meeting of the Massachusetts Colonization Society was held in Park-street Church, on Thursday evening, Feb. 7, 1833. At half past 6 o'clock, the Hon. STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS, of Salem, took the chair. After a voluntary on the organ, the meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. JOEL H. LINDSLEY.

The credentials of Delegates from auxiliary societies were then received, when it appeared that the following gentlemen had been appointed by the respective societies.

Worcester Co. Auxiliary. Hon. W. S. HASTINGS, A. D. FOSTER, and C. ALLEN, Esqrs.

Hampshire. Hon. ELIPHALET WILLIAMS and GEORGE BANCROFT, Esq.

Hampden. Hon. WILLIAM B. CALHOUN, Hon. PATRICK BOIES, Hon. GEORGE BLISS, and GEORGE ASHMUN, Esq.

Berkshire. Hon. THOMAS B. STRONG and Hon. EDWARD STEVENS, of the Senate.—SAMUEL M. MACKAY and HENRY MARSH, Esq. of the House.

Franklin. None.

A letter was read to the meeting from his Excellency LEVI LINCOLN, Governor of the Commonwealth, excusing himself on the ground of previous engagements, for not being present on the occasion. After a brief, but eloquent tribute to the objects and measures of the society, Gov. Lincoln says:

"I can see nothing in the history of the past operations of the society which should create distrust of its salutary influences in any section of our country, much less give cause for hostility to its humane and Christian charities, directed to enlightening the ignorant, sending a pure religion to the heathen, restoring the African to his native land, and making that land the residence of the happy and the free."

A letter from the Hon. SAMUEL LATHROP, President of the society, was communicated to the Secretary, expressing the regret of the writer at his inability to attend the meeting and preside over its deliberations; suggesting the expediency, that the office of President should be conferred on some individual, residing nearer than himself to the place of its meetings; and commenting, in forcible and favorable terms, on the objects and tendency of the institution. "I view," says Mr. LATHROP, in conclusion, "the establishment of the Colonization Society, as one of the means among the benevolent operations of the day, and the principal one, for the regeneration of a continent."

The report was read by the Secretary, Dr. J. V. C. SMITH. This paper is replete with just views, and with interesting facts in relation to the colony, which, however, it is unnecessary here to particularize, as they have already been communicated to the readers of this journal.

The Hon. ALEXANDER H. EVERETT mov-

ed the acceptance of the report, and accompanied his motion with some eloquent remarks, well deserving extensive circulation and attentive perusal. We regret much that the limits of this number forbid us to transfer to it the whole of Mr. EVERETT's speech.—We cannot resist the temptation to insert some passages.

After advertng to the origin, objects, and probable, as well as actual results of the Colonization Society, and remarking that "one of the most enlightened and distinguished noblemen of England, Lord Althorp, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at a late public meeting, pronounced the colony of Liberia to be one of the greatest events of modern times," in which declaration, Mr. EVERETT avows his entire concurrence; he thus proceeds:

"A variety of circumstances, Mr. President, seem to concur to render the present moment, and the place where the colony has been founded, the most propitious that could possibly have been selected for such a purpose. At a time when the failure of innumerable attempts to explore the central regions of Africa, and the untimely death of the enterprising travellers who have engaged in them, had nearly induced the friends of humanity and improvement to abandon the undertaking, two or three parties, more fortunate than their predecessors, have succeeded almost simultaneously, in penetrating by different routes, into the heart of the interior of this mysterious continent. All the great geographical problems connected with it, that had so long baffled the curiosity of inquirers, are now solved. An obscure and unpretending Frenchman, without education or advantages; two English brothers, belonging to the class of domestic servants, have, to their lasting honor, accomplished what scientific travellers and powerful associations had so long attempted in vain. The position of Timbuctoo has at last been ascertained,—the course of the Niger has been explored. That river has been found to empty itself into the Atlantic Ocean at a point not very remote from the infant colony of Liberia. The portion of Africa which it waters, appears, from the accounts of these travellers, to be one of the finest regions of the globe—resembling in its physical characteristics, the valley of the Mississippi—blest with every advantage of soil and climate, covered with towns and villages, peopled by a race who have made no inconsiderable progress in the arts of life. Within a very few years, perhaps months, we shall hear of steam boats navigating this unexplored river, of which, two years ago, the most learned geographer did not know the direction or outlet. Thus a free and easy communication with the most populous and cultivated portions of Africa has happily been opened at the very moment when the first germs of improvement have been planted on the coast, and every facility is afforded for a rapid diffusion of their fruits over the whole continent.

I confess, Mr. President, that I look forward with much satisfaction, to the results of these interesting events. I anticipate with very great pleasure, the period when the whole south-western coast of Africa will be covered with flourishing settlements

of free blacks, and when a constant and free intercourse will be held between them and the inland nations in their neighborhood. I rejoice at it, not merely because it will open to our enterprising merchants a new and lucrative branch of trade—although this of itself is no contemptible advantage—but, Sir, I rejoice at it because it will, as I have already remarked, utterly and forever annihilate that abominable traffic, which, for the last three centuries, has been the standing disgrace of Christendom: I rejoice at it, because it will elevate millions of our fellow men from a rude and semi-barbarous, to a civilized condition. Is it not delightful, Sir, to think that the schoolmaster who, we are told, is abroad every where, will shortly be at home in Africa?—That the light of learning will very soon visit her populous towns and cities?—That the apostle of the true religion will pitch his tent under the shade of her lofty palm trees?—That the banks of her broad and noble rivers will resound with the sweet music of the songs of Zion? Is there any thing visionary in these anticipations? Sir, they are simple statements of facts which are going on before our eyes. While I am now speaking, the enterprising brothers, who first broke the spell, which for ages preceding had shrouded the course of the Niger in a cloud of impenetrable mystery, are ascending that river with their steam boats. While I am now speaking, preparations are making in this very city, to take advantage of the first opening afforded by the discoveries that they may make, for the purpose of establishing missionary stations in the heart of Africa. No, Sir, there is nothing visionary in all this. I have stated merely facts, but they are facts more strange, more interesting, more delightful than the fairest dreams of the most poetical fancy.

“In all this movement, Mr. President, the colony at Liberia, and the others that will probably be established on the same plan, will be the most effective and useful instruments. But, Sir, we are sometimes told that all these efforts will be unavailing—that the African is a degraded member of the human family—that a man with a dark skin and curled hair, is necessarily, as such, incapable of improvement and civilization, and condemned by the vice of his physical conformation, to vegetate forever in a state of hopeless barbarism. Mr. President, I reject, with contempt and indignation, this miserable heresy. In replying to it, the friends of truth and humanity have not hitherto done justice to the argument. In order to prove that the blacks were capable of intellectual efforts, they have painfully collected a few imperfect specimens of what some of them have done in this way, even in the degraded condition which they occupy at present in Christendom. Sir, this is not the way to treat the subject. Go back to an earlier period in the history of our race. See what the blacks were and what they did three thousand years ago, in the period of their greatness and glory, when they occupied the fore front in the march of civilization—when they constituted in fact the whole civilized world of their time. Trace this very civilization, of which we are so proud, to its origin, and see where you will find it. We received it from our European ancestors: they had it from the

Greeks and Romans, and the Jews. But, Sir, where did the Greeks and the Romans and the Jews get it? They derived it from Ethiopia and Egypt,—in one word, from Africa. Moses, we are told, was instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians. The founders of the principal Grecian cities, such as Athens, Thebes, and Delphi, came from Egypt, and for centuries afterwards, their descendants returned to that country, as the source and centre of civilization. There it was that the generous and stirring spirits of the time—Herodotus, Homer, Plato, Pythagoras, and the rest, made their noble voyages of intellectual and moral discovery, as ours now make them in England, France, Germany and Italy. Sir, the Egyptians were the masters of the Greeks and the Jews, and consequently of all the modern nations in civilization, and they had carried it very nearly as far—in some respects, perhaps, a good deal further than any subsequent people. The ruins of the Egyptian temples laugh to scorn the architectural monuments of any other part of the world. They will be what they are now, the delight and admiration of travellers from all quarters, when the grass is growing on the sites of St. Peter's and St. Paul's,—the present pride of Rome and London.

“Well, Sir, who were the Egyptians? They were Africans:—and of what race?—It is sometimes pretended, that though Africans, and of Ethiopian extraction, they were not black. But what says the father of history, who had travelled among them, and knew their appearance, as well as we know that of our neighbors in Canada? Sir, Herodotus tells you that the Egyptians were blacks, with curled hair. Some writers have undertaken to dispute his authority, but I cannot bring myself to believe that the father of history did not know black from white. It seems, therefore, that for this very civilization of which we are so proud, and which is the only ground of our present claim of superiority, we are indebted to the ancestors of these very blacks, whom we are pleased to consider as naturally incapable of civilization.

“So much for the supposed inferiority of the colored race, and their incapacity to make any progress in civilization and improvement.—And it is worth while, Mr. President, to remark, that the prejudice which is commonly entertained in this country, but which does not exist to any thing like the same extent in Europe, against the color of the blacks, seems to have grown out of the unnatural position which they occupy among us. At the period to which I have just alluded, when the blacks took precedence of the whites in civilization, science, and political power, no such prejudice appears to have existed. The early Greek writers speak of the Ethiopians and Egyptians as a superior variety of the species:—superior, not merely in intellectual and moral qualities, but what may seem to be much more remarkable, in outward appearance.—The Ethiopians, says Herodotus, excel all other nations in longevity, stature, and personal beauty. The black prince, Memnon, who served among the Trojan auxiliaries at the siege of Troy, (probably an Egyptian prince) is constantly spoken of by the Greek and Latin writers, as a person of extraordinary beauty, and is qualified as the son of Aurora, or

the morning. There are, in short, no traces of any prejudice whatever against the color of the blacks, like that which has grown up in modern times, and which is obviously the result of the relative condition of the two races. This prejudice forms at present, as was correctly observed by President Madison in one of his speeches in the late Virginia Convention, the chief obstacle to the practical improvement of the condition of that portion of them who reside in this country."

Mr. EVERETT candidly avows that he had once been not very favorably impressed in regard to the character of the Colonization Society; announces his liberation from that prejudice; and successfully refutes the objections against it which are peculiar to its opponents in the northern section of our country. While on this part of his subject, the orator makes the following pregnant observation:

"I cannot but hope, that reflection and experience will gradually satisfy such of our fellow citizens in this neighborhood as are now disposed to doubt the expediency of our efforts. In the mean time, Sir, the opposition which we have to encounter here, has at least this good effect, that it affords to our Southern brethren the best evidence they can possibly have, that this institution is managed with the necessary discretion and moderation. When they find it attacked, as too favorable to the interests of the proprietors of slaves, by men, whom we may, perhaps, without offence, denominate the indiscreet friends of freedom and humanity, they will naturally conclude that we have observed, in our proceedings, the caution which the nature of the object so imperiously dictates, and that our errors, if we have committed any, are on the safe side."

We subjoin the concluding paragraph of Mr. EVERETT'S address:

"Permit me, Sir, before I close, to congratulate you and the association upon the manner in which the vacancy, occasioned in the presidency of the association by the lamented decease of the last signer of the Declaration of Independence, has been recently filled. The venerable sage of Montpelier, Mr. Madison, has consented, by accepting this place, to lend the sanction of his great name to this good cause. It would be quite superfluous, Sir, to attempt to enlarge on the value of this sanction, or to recapitulate the numerous titles which this eminent statesman and patriot has acquired to the esteem and confidence of his country. This last labor will close, in a truly consistent and honorable manner, the serene, and, I trust, long to be protracted evening of his glorious life. The concerns of the association, Mr. President, as we have just learned from the able Report of the Agent, are in every respect in a very flourishing condition. The colony has surmounted the difficulties incident to every new establishment of this description, and has reached a point from which its future progress may be regarded as comparatively easy and sure. The order and comfort prevailing among its inhabitants, have already excited the admiration of the neighboring Africans, and created a strong impression in favor of civilization, improvement, and Christianity. The liberality of some of the States has furnished an abundant supply of additional resources, and every appearance seems to

prognosticate, for the association, a career of constantly augmenting activity and usefulness. Let me hope, Mr. President, that no inauspicious event may occur to blast these fair prospects, and that we may witness, within our own time, some of the great results which this association is destined to produce abroad and at home."

On motion of WILLIAM LADD, Esq. of Maine, it was

Resolved, That the American Colonization Society merits the confidence and patronage of all who are opposed in principle to slavery.

On motion of Mr. STOW, it was

Resolved, That the objects of the American Colonization Society, commend themselves, with peculiar urgency, to the approbation and aid of every Christian in the land.

On motion of the Rev. G. W. BLAGDEN, of Boston, it was

Resolved, That the aspect of Divine Providence is highly favorable to the operations of the American Colonization Society.

On motion of the Hon. CALEB CUSHING, of Newburyport, it was

Resolved, That every patriotic and peaceful citizen of the United States, while he seeks by suitable means, to better the condition of our colored population, should anxiously abstain from acts inconsistent with the text or spirit of the Federal Constitution; and which have a tendency therefore to introduce into the country, general evils of incalculable magnitude, and at the same time, defeat all benevolent designs in behalf of the blacks, by subverting the union of the States.

The foregoing resolutions were sustained by addresses from the gentlemen respectively who moved them, from which we have unfortunately no room for extracts.

The following gentlemen were elected officers of the society for the ensuing year; viz:

President, Hon. Samuel Lathrop; *Vice Presidents*, Rt. Rev. Alexander V. Griswold, Hon. H. A. S. Dearborn, Hon. Wm. B. Calhoun, Hon. Isaac C. Bates, Hon. Alexander H. Everett, Heman Humphrey, D. D., Theodore Sedgwick, Esq., His Honor Samuel T. Armstrong, Thomas Napier, Esq., Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, Hon. James Fowler, Hon. Daniel Waldo; *Secretary*, Doct. J. V. C. Smith; *Treasurer*, Isaac Mansfield, Esq.; *Managers*, Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, Dedham, Hon. Josiah Robbins, Plymouth, Hon. John W. Lincoln, Worcester, Rev. Howard Malcolm, Boston, Rev. E. S. Gannet, Boston, Hon. Eliphalet Williams, Northampton, Charles Tappan, Esq. Boston, Prof. S. M. Worcester, Amherst College, George A. Tuffs, Esq. Dudley, Doct. J. S. Butler, Worcester, Thomas A. Greene, Esq. New Bedford, Hon. Wm. S. Hastings, Mendon, Hon. Ira Barton, Oxford, Rev. B. B. Edwards, Boston, Charles Stoddard, Esq. Boston, Rev. William Hague, Boston, Rev. John Pierpont, Boston, Samuel M. McCay, Pittsfield, William J. Hubbard, Boston, B. B. Thatcher, Esq. Boston.

The proceedings in Virginia and Massachusetts, of which we have given a brief outline, cannot fail to be deeply interesting to our readers, and to every friend of our good cause. It is cheering to philanthropy to find that in the two states, with whose history so many lofty and patriotic recollections are

associated, so many of their brightest and purest names are enlisted in the great work which this society was instituted to accomplish, and in dispelling the delusions which prejudices of the most contrariant character have opposed to its progress.

The *Louisville Colonization Society* has made an interesting report of its rise, progress, and present condition, to the Parent Board. It was formed on the 28th day of February, 1829, and its first annual meeting was held on the 5th of June, 1830, on which latter occasion, a Report of the proceedings of the Board of Managers for the year, was made, and a resolution passed requesting a collection from the churches on the 4th of July. It appeared from the Report, that the society had been visited by the Rev. Mr. BASCOM, and had paid over to him \$100.

The second annual meeting was held June 5, 1831, at which the annual Report was read, and an eloquent address made by JOHN W. CHILTON, Esq. to a large assembly. During this year a correspondence was opened with the state society at Frankfort, and other societies in the "Valley of the Mississippi," on the subject of procuring emigrants sufficient to charter a vessel from New Orleans to Liberia.

The third annual meeting was held July 14, 1832, when addresses were delivered by Dr. JOHN P. HARRISON and WILLIAM F. BULLOCK, Esq. During this year died the venerable President of the society from its commencement, Capt. Abraham Hite, a hero of '76, and John W. Fraser, Esq. the Secretary of the Board of Managers, was unfortunately killed by an accident on board a steamboat. A public meeting was held, at which an address was delivered by R. S. Finley, Esq. to a numerous audience, and committees appointed to solicit aid throughout the city.

Since the annual meeting, the Board of Managers was convened at the instance of the Rev. Mr. LIGHT, an agent of the parent Board, to endeavor to aid in the transportation of 100 emigrants from "the Valley," to rendezvous at Louisville. It was resolved to raise \$600 towards this object. The last meeting of the Board was held a few days before the date of the Report, at which the Rev. Mr. LIGHT attended, and received an order for all the funds at the command of the society, viz: \$307 97 cts. The emigrants were then collecting in the city previous to their embarkation for Liberia, via New Orleans.

This auxiliary society has received from life subscriptions \$240; from annual subscriptions \$326 52 cts. from churches \$157 63 cts. from the Episcopal Sunday School \$4 10 cts. and in donations \$107:—amounting in the whole to \$805 25 cts. Besides this amount, the Board state that other sums have been received by the agents, which have not passed into the auxiliary treasury. Nearly all the above amount has been paid to agents at Louisville, or transmitted to the Parent Board.—The treasury was, at the date of the Report, empty; but the Board were sanguine of being able to make up the abovementioned sum of \$600, over the \$300 already paid.

The society now numbers eight life, and 148 annual members; a number which, say the

Board, though small, is larger than that on any list of members of any benevolent society in the city. They declare "that a growing attachment to the interests of this great cause is very evident."

The Report is transmitted in pursuance of an order of the Board of Managers, by a committee consisting of HENRY E. THOMAS and JOHN P. SMITH. The officers of the society are, *President*—WILLIAM C. BULLETT.—*Secretary*—JOHN P. MORTON. *Treasurer*—HENRY E. THOMAS.

The *Carlisle, Clinton County, Colonization Society* has been recently organized in the state of Illinois, at a meeting of the citizens of that county, at which Col. ROBERT CROCKETT acted as chairman, and BENJAMIN BOND, Esq. as Secretary. A constitution was presented and adopted, and the society was formed under the above title to, "as auxiliary to the Colonization Society at Vandalia, which is particularly designed to aid the parent institution at Washington."

The following gentlemen were elected officers of the society: viz.

President—Col. ROBERT CROCKETT. *Vice Presidents*—Hon. CHARLES SLADE, JAMES TEMPLE, Esq. *Managers*—HARRY WILTON, Esq. Capt. C. U. HOLSTEAD, HENRY WILCOX, Esq. THOMAS SLADE, Esq. Major JOSEPH HUEY, A. G. MAXEY, Esq. *Secretary*—BENJAMIN BOND, Esq. *Treasurer*—JOHN M. WEBSTER, Esq.

After an address from the Chair, a resolution passed requesting Mr. BOND to deliver an address to this society on the 4th of July next.

On the occasion mentioned, 81 persons became members of the society, and \$56 were subscribed. The annual meeting of the society will be held on the 4th of July next.

The Secretary, from whose letter, under date of March 4, 1833, the foregoing particulars are extracted, concludes by saying: "The prospects of this society are indeed flattering, and from the interest manifested, no doubt can be entertained, but that its importance will continue to increase, and that much good will result from the united efforts of its friends."

Newville, Cumberland co. Pa. Society.

The officers of the society for the present year are—*President*, Rev. Alexander Sharp; *Vice President*, Capt. James Piper; *Managers*, Capt. John Dunlap, John McCrea, Robert Greacy, James Montgomery, Thomas Lindsey, Andrew Sharp; *Sec'y* and *Tr.* Jno. Blean.

We have hitherto been prevented from noticing a communication, under date of December last, from Messrs. H. C. TAYLOR, DAVID O. HUDSON, and T. H. BARR, a committee appointed by the *Auxiliary Society of the Western Reserve College*, to prepare a statement of its condition and prospects. From this statement it appears that the society was formed about two years ago, with the approbation of the faculty, and that nearly all the individuals then students in the college, became members. The meetings of the society have been regular and its condition prosperous; and it has done every thing to assist the parent institution, compatible with its limited

resources. Recently the exertions of Mr. Garrison, and other advocates of his opinions, have excited opposition to the auxiliary society. The extent of this adversary influence was tested on a late occasion, when the society lost eight, and received an addition of more than thirty members. The strenuous but temperate course of its friends has hitherto prevented any positive injury. A perseverance in the same measures will doubtless be attended with the happiest effects.

From Liberia.—Letters have been received at Salisbury from several of the emigrants who last fall left that place for Liberia. They express themselves highly pleased with the colony, its soil, productions, &c. Several numbers of the *Liberia Herald* have been received at this office, where they may be seen by any person who may wish to peruse them. We intend to make some extracts from them for our next impression.—*Village Herald, Princess Anne co. Md.*

The Rev. Richard Bibb, of Kentucky, has liberated 32 of his slaves—furnished them with clothing, besides \$444 in money, and sent them to Liberia.

THE AFRICAN EXPEDITION.

The John Doughan, White, is arrived from Africa, and brought letters from Mr. Richard Lander, who reached Cape Coast Castle on the 7th of October, in 72 days from Milford. The vessels had touched at the Isle de Los, Sierra Leone, and other places, for the purpose of procuring supplies of fuel for the two steamers. Several cases of fever had occurred, but no deaths in consequence had taken place. At Cape Coast every attention had been shown by Gov. McLean, and the several officers there. Mr. Lander has been so fortunate as to procure Pascoe and the other natives, who accompanied him in his perilous undertaking, to trace the mysterious Niger to its termination, and these persons are to proceed with him. He has also been able to engage two individuals from the Eboe country, one of whom is the son of a king in that district, and both of them not only speak, but read English, and must therefore be of great utility. The iron Steamboat, Alburka, is a most useful vessel, remarkably cool and dry, and sails exceedingly well. The expedition had experienced bad weather, having been six weeks in the rainy season, with severe lightning, which run down the sides of the Alburka into the water, the iron acting as a conductor thereto. The ships were to sail from Cape Coast about the middle of October, and would not stop at any place; but proceed direct up the Rio Nunez into the Niger. Mr. Lander was in excellent health, and sanguine of ultimate success.—*Liverpool paper.*

Colonization Society.—At a late meeting of the Trumbull county Presbytery, holden at Bazetta, the following notice was taken of this society:

"On motion, it was resolved, that this Presbytery feel an increased confidence in the Colonization Society, and commend it to the prayers and patronage of all the churches under our care."

COLONIAL SLAVERY—London, March 19.

In the House of Lords, on Mr. F. Buxton being called upon by the Speaker, Lord Althorp, said he had to request his honorable friend not to bring forward the motion of which he had given notice, respecting colonial slavery, at the present moment. As ministers had intimated their intention of preparing some measure on this subject, he thought that the honorable member could not do any thing more advantageous to the question itself, than to postpone his motion until he heard what were the plans His Majesty's ministers had in contemplation.

Mr. F. Buxton said that no gentleman was more conscious than himself, that it would be far better that this great question should be taken up by government than by any individual member of that house, and he was ready on the present moment to postpone his motion upon two conditions: 1st, that ministers would be prepared with a plan for the entire and immediate extinction of slavery; and 2d, that they would name the day that they would introduce the plan to the house. It was indispensable that the question should be settled in the present session, and by that house, or it would be settled in another place, and in a far more disastrous way. Therefore, however obstinate he might appear, and however painful it might be for him to resist the requests, both public and private, which had been made to postpone the question, he felt compelled to proceed at once with the motion, unless government fixed a day on which they would be prepared to explain their plans with respect to colonial slavery.

Lord Althorp said it was impossible for him to comply with one of the conditions mentioned by the honorable member; but with respect to the other—that government should fix a day on which they would bring forward their question, he certainly had no objection to state that government would be prepared on Tuesday, the 23d of April, to state the views they took on the subject. Of course, he could not at the present time, state what the plans were which his Majesty's government had in contemplation.

Mr. F. Buxton said, that in reference to the words "entire and immediate extinction of slavery," used by him, he perhaps had expressed himself rather unguardedly, because one of the great objects he had in view was the safe and satisfactory settlement of the question. (Hear, hear.) With the promise given by the noble lord he was perfectly content, and should therefore withdraw his motion.

Mission to England.—Mr. Garrison, editor of the *Liberator*, is about to embark for England, as agent for the Anti-Slavery society of New England. He declares that his principal design is to correct the views of the British public in regard to the Colonization Society. We are sorry this task has not been assigned to a man who can treat those who oppose his opinions with kindness, and whose prejudice against the Colonization Society, is less inveterate. We think the society will have little to fear from this mission.—*Cincinnati Journal.*

We cannot help thinking that the opposition to the Colonization Society, which is getting up at the North, particularly among the advocates of immediate emancipation, will be a great benefit to that institution. It will tend to remove the jealousies which have existed at the South, and which still exist to a considerable extent, against the colonization plan. The favor of the slave holding States, superadded to that of the great majority of northern men, will give the society a degree of strength and influence which it has not before enjoyed.—*Journal of Commerce.*

"It is stated that Mr. Wirt, the late Attorney General of the United States, has purchased a tract of land in Florida, on which he proposes to cultivate the sugar cane, under the superintendence of Lieut. Goldsborough, his son-in-law. No slaves are to be employed, but the labor is to be performed by several hundred German emigrants, who have been engaged to proceed thither."

Correspondence.—The following is an extract from a letter to the Editors, from a correspondent in Andover, Mass.

"The following resolutions were passed by the 'Society of Enquiry' in this Seminary, on the evening of March 19, 1833.

'Resolved, That the system of African Colonization, as adopted by the American Colonization Society, merits the patronage and support of all who are opposed to slavery, and of all who are desirous of elevating the intellectual and moral condition of our free colored population.

'Resolved, That we regard the manifestations of Providence, in the establishment and prosperity of the colony at Liberia, as indications of good to Africa; and especially in the influence that colony exerts in the extermination of the slave trade, and the diffusion of the principles of Christianity and the blessings of civilization throughout the African continent.

'This society embraces all the students except three or four; and I have reason to believe, that all who would have voted against the resolutions were present. The vote on the first resolution stood as follows:—Yeas 55, Nays 9; on the second, Yeas 60, Nays 4."

To the facts here stated, we are happy to add, on the authority of the *Journal of Humanity*, (published at Andover,) that 'the officers, trustees, and visitors of the Seminary, are, without exception, decided friends of the American Colonization Society.'—*Colonizationist.*

Our readers will find in the present number a summary of the information which has been received since the appearance of the last number, in reports from the agents of the society. While a portion of this is not so encouraging as was expected, and might be desired, the residue and much the greater, is of the most cheering character, and justifies the most sanguine hopes of the future progress of the institution towards accomplishing the beneficial results which it has in view.—The Report of the Rev. Mr. LIGHT possesses peculiar interest, as indicating that the true purposes of the society are beginning to be properly understood in the Western States.

That important section of our country, so conspicuous in the race of improvement, will not, we are satisfied, be found wanting to an enterprise so conducive to its interests, and recommended by so many high sanctions of philanthropy and social utility, as that of the American Colonization Society.

We take this opportunity of respectfully suggesting to the friends of the society in every quarter of the union, that the present period is one exacting from them the employment of every suitable opportunity for familiarizing the public mind with the genuine views and principles of the society. It is not to be disguised, that they are too often, and in too many places, made the subject of systematic misrepresentation. While the opponents of the society at the South exhibit it as a wild and unjust scheme of abolition, its Northern adversaries describe it as a cunning device for perpetuating the evils of slavery, by increasing its advantages to the slave owner. Reflecting and candid minds will perhaps perceive in these conflicting accusations, a sufficient vindication of the society; and to them farther defence would be superfluous.—But those who are influenced by interest or prejudice, are but too prone to believe one or the other, or even both of the antagonist calumnies which have been adverted to. Let us refer to the *Constitution* of the society to refute these misstatements of its principles, and to its past acts, for a defence against the aspersions which bespeak suspicion of its future conduct. If honest but intemperate zeal reproaches us with being too slow, let us convince it, as we can do, that too great haste would destroy the cause in whose favor it would be exerted. If an equally honest, but a timid caution, fears that we move too quickly, let us satisfy it by fair argument, that its apprehensions are groundless, and that less energy would soon degenerate into inertness. And if the plan of the institution seems to any good men to fall short of his own idea of speculative perfection, let us entreat him to consider that a plan more admirable in theory, would in all probability, be unattainable in practice. Above all, let us earnestly invoke the wise and the good throughout this wide empire, to forego their own peculiar schemes, and to meet on the neutral and common ground which this society presents, and where the wise and the good may meet without sacrificing any principle, and with the certain prospect of achieving by their co-operation, objects dear to Christianity and to benevolence.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY.—The Board of Managers of the Colonization Society have appointed PHILIP R. FENDALL, Esq. of this city, Assistant Secretary, who, from his well known character and abilities, may be expected to render important aid to the cause.

RETURN OF DR. TODSEN.—This gentleman has returned in the ship Lafayette in consequence of ill health, and we are happy to add his strength has greatly improved by the voyage. Dr. Todsén has been very successful in his treatment of African fever, and acquired much reputation as a physician while on the African coast.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Colonization Society, from the 31st of December, 1832, to the 15th March, 1833.

Proceeds of note discounted at Bank of U. States for \$1000,	\$989	33
Collection in Infant School, taught by Miss Agnes Craig, at New York, in the Lecture room of the John Street Methodist Episcopal Church,	12	
Collections by Gersham Hyde, Esq. Portland, Me.	30	95
John Kennedy, for balance due from him of monies advanced for the Expedition in Ship Lafayette,	40	96
George Mussingbard, of Pocahontas co. Va. per Gales and Seaton,	4	
Subscriptions to Liberia Herald, as follows; viz:—		
Samuel H. Janney, Alexandria, D. C.	\$2	
Hugh C. Smith, do	2	
Francis Savage, Germantown, Ky.	2	6
Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen of N. J. his payment on Gerrit Smith's plan,	100	
Collection in Methodist Episcopal Church, Alexandria, per Rev. John Day, omitted in May last,	14	
New Hampshire Colonization Society, per Hon. Samuel Bell,	268	
Rev. Daniel Parker of Richmond, Clermont co. Ohio, as follows:—		
Collection at Republican Meeting House, between New Richmond and Batavia, in his county,	\$8	
Colonization Society of his Town,	2	10
From the Managers of the Maryland Fund—monies disbursed in fitting out expedition, per Lafayette,	5180	
Massachusetts Col. Society, per Isaac Mansfield, Treasurer	500	
Rev. Overton Bernard, Sussex co. Va. per Hon. R. Y. Mason,	30	
J. G. Whitwell, subscription for 1833,	1	
Willis Fawcett of Washington, D. C. Annual Subscription,	1	
W. C. Ellison, do	1	
P. W. Gallaudett, do	2	
Mr. Hand, do	1	
Mr. Perry, do	1	
Mr. Ould, do	1	
Hon. Mr. Williams of North Carolina,	1	
Gen. Peters of Lebanon, Ct.	1	
B. C. Sanders of Washington,	1	
Mr. Hinton, do	1	
Rev. Mr. Hammett, do	1	
John McDonough, Esq. of N. Orleans, his subscription on plan of Gerrit Smith,	100	
M. Freeman of Salem, Washington co. N. Y. as follows:—		
Collection in Rev. John Whiton's Church, on Thanksgiving day,	\$16	
Martin and Adams' subscription to Repository,	2	
M. Freeman's do	2	20
M. A. Terrell, McConnellsburg, for part of sum subscribed in that neighborhood, when Mr. Crosby was there,	15	
Union Col. Society, Carlisle, Pa. per Rev. John Jacobs,	2	51
Donation by Rev. John Jacobs,	2	49
Hon. T. Emerson of Windsor, Vt. his second payment on plan of G. Smith, Esq.	100	
Collection in Presbyterian church, Fredericksburg, Va. per Wm. H. White,	20	
Wm. H. Campbell's subscription for 1833,	1	
Bardstown and Nelson co. Aux. Society, per Samuel Carpenter, Treasurer,	37	
Collection by Rev. John Munson, Harrisburg, Pa. in his Plain Grove Prest. Ch.	5	
Phinias Bradley of Washington, D. C. to constitute him a life member,	30	
Rev. Reuben Post, Washington, D. C. Annual Subscription,	1	
James H. Doughty, do	1	
Rev. Mr. Mann,	1	
Edward Bernard, do	1	
Edwin Sheriff, do	1	
Rev. Mr. Noble, do	1	
Doct. Geo. Terrill	1	
Edwin Bernard, do	1	
Lewis H. Flewry, do	1	
Sundry persons in Washington, to constitute them members of the Society, per W. C. Ellison, as follows:—		
Rev. Mr. Noble \$1—J. F. Caldwell 1—Andrew Coyle 1—Thomas G. Settle, 1—Anthony Holmead 1—George Wood 1—George Hill 1—William Wood 1—Jas. Larned 1—R. S. Briscoe 1—J. Kennedy 1—S. H. Owens 1—F. G. Blackford 1—D. Saunders 1—John McLeod 1—Leonidas Coyle 1—W. A. Bradley 1—John Catlett 1—Wm. Dougherty 1—Edward H. James 1—James Kearny 1—John Dawson James 1—James McLeary 1—Wm. James 1—John M. Moore 1—J. R. M. Bryant 1—J. H. Wheat 1—A. Shephard 1—Wm. Greer 1—A. B. Wal-		
let 1—G. E. Dyson 1,		30

Collection in July last, in Presbyterian ch. Silver Spring, Pa. per James Williamson of Hagerstown, Md.			10
Everard Peck of Rochester, N. Y. as follows:—			
Collection at a Methodist meeting at Livonia, by Rev. E. Williams,	\$4	08	
Do by Elder Parker, at a Methodist prayer meeting, at West Meadow,		1	
First Congregational ch. in Riga, by Rev. E. Meade,	3	64	
Female Aux. Col. Soc. of Rochester, by Mrs. Selah Williams, Tr.,	40	—	48 72
John C. Richards of Baltimore,			1
George Cattell's subscription,			1
John P. Ingle of Washington, his subscription,			5
Maj. E. J. Weed, do do			1
A. C. Gibbs, do do			1
Rev. N. Hatch, do do			1
Col. A. Henderson do do			1
Wm. D. Bowie, do do			1
R. S. Cox of Washington, do			1
Wm. B. Shepard of N. Carolina, do			1
Samuel Kneller of Washington, do			1
Mrs. Williams, do do			1
Mrs. Woodside, do do			1
Mrs. C. Polk, do do			1
Saml. Fitzhugh, do do			1
Charles Kellog of Kellogsville, N. York, per Hon. Mr. Doubleday,			10
Ladies of the 1st Pres. ch. Philadelphia, to constitute their pastor, the Rev. Albert Barnes, a life member,			30
The Ladies of Washington, in part to constitute the Rev. Mr. Post of Washington, D. C. a life member,			15
A little girl four years old, the child of S. H. Sigourney, Hartford, Conn., to purchase Bibles for any child going to Liberia,			1
Collection by Rev. D. Parker, per Leonard Armstrong of Little Miami, Hamilton county, Ohio,			10
Rev. Wm. Winans of Centreville, Miss., as follows:—			
For Repository for Rd. Bledsoe, Natchez,	\$2		
“ “ Rev. T. Owens, Rocky Spring	6		
“ “ F. Ford, Clinton,	5		
“ “ Col. John G. Richardson,	2		
Donation, per Rev. Thomas Owens	10	—	25
Hon. Harman Denny of Pittsburg, Pa. as follows:—			
From Rev. T. Herron, 1st Presbyterian church, Pittsburg,	\$67	50	
“ “ from Bible class of Mr. Gray, in Alleghany Town,	2	09	
“ “ per Rev. Mr. Huges, from congregations at Salisbury and Warren, Pa.	12	75	
“ “ per Rev. Moses Allen, for congregation at Racoon,	7		
“ “ per Rev. Mr. Riggs, from Scrubgrass congregation,	5	50	
“ “ per Rev. Mr. Torrence, from congregations of Lexington and Pleasant Hill, Richland county, Ohio,	5	75	
African Repository per Rev. Mr. Torrence, from Rev. Dr. Patterson,	6		
James McKown, Tr. Frankfort Col. Soc. Brown co. Pa.	14	31	
Charles Brewer, Esq., Pittsburg,	25	—	145 90
Matthew Carey, Esq., subscription on plan of Gerrit Smith,			100
Walter Lowrie, Esq., Secretary of the Senate, a contribution,			30
Thomas H. Hubbard, Esq. of Utica, N. Y., his annual subscription, per Hon. L. Beardsly,			30
Hamilton and Rossville, Ohio, Col. Soc., J. Beal, Esq., Tr. per Hon. T. Corwin,			11
Clinton county, Ohio, Colonization Society, per do			8
Rev. H. B. Bascom, deposit in the Cincinnati Branch,			200
Proceeds of note for \$1500, discounted in Office of the U. S. Bank,			1484
Professor Eben. Adams, of Hanover, N. Hampshire, per Hon. R. Choate,			2
Edward Chadwick, Trustee, under the Will of John Coffin Jones, late of Boston, for proceeds of sales of Ohio lands, which in conformity to the 14th clause in the Will, the Trustee was directed to pay over to the American Colonization Society, to be by that Society, or such other Institution as may be duly authorized therefor, applied at their discretion, in trust for people of color, in promoting their Colonization in Africa, from time to time, per Hon. Edward Everett,			86
Wm. A. Somerville, near Loretto, Va. per John P. Ingle of Washington, D. C.			14
J. P. McCorkle,			1
Rev. Abner Kirkpatrick of Rockingham co. Va.			20

Total 29870 86